MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

JAMES WILSON BRIGHT, Editor-in-Chief MURRAY PEABODY BRUSH **GUSTAV GRUENBAUM** WILLIAM KURRELMEYER

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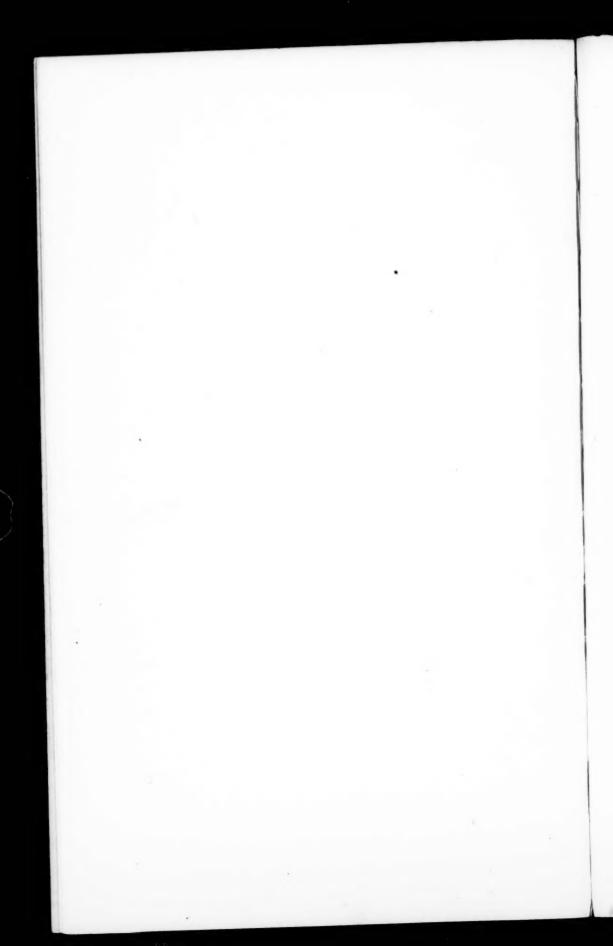
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Modern Language Notes

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A FRAGMENT OF AN EARLIER VERSION OF ANTON REISER

The first volume of K. Ph. Moritz' Anton Reiser appeared in 1785, and while the work was highly esteemed by contemporaries, including Goethe and Schiller, an entire century elapsed before it was made accessible in a critical reprint, edited by Ludwig Geiger. Since then, a number of popular or bibliophile editions have appeared, together with a series of books and articles on Anton Reiser and on the life of Moritz. The most important of these is the book of Eybisch, which has a complete bibliography.

In his introduction, Geiger noted the fact that two excerpts from Anton Reiser were published in 1784, a year before the appearance of the book itself.⁴ These extracts cover pp. 26-47 of Geiger's remint, and correspond in the main with the later text, aside from two or three additions and a number of minor variants, recorded by Geiger on pp. viii-x. The latter, however, failed to discover a third, and still earlier fragment, which Moritz had published in the October number of the Berlinische Monatsschrift, 1783, Vol. II, 357-364.⁵ Eybisch, to be sure, cites this title in his biblio-

^{...} Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts, No. 23, bronn, 1886.

²I may cite the Reclam edition, by Dr. Hans Henning, 1906; the edition of F. B. Hardt, 2 vols., Munich, 1911; the edition of H. Schnabel, Munich, 1912, and that of the *Insel-Verlag (Bibliothek der Romane*, 30. Bd.), Leipzig, 1914. The editions of 1911-1914 I have not seen.

³ Hugo Eybisch, Anton Reiser, Untersuchungen zur Lebensgeschichte von K. Ph. Moritz und zur Kritik seiner Autobiographie. (Probefahrten, hrsg. von A. Köster, 14. Bd.). Leipzig, 1909.

⁴In the Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde, Bd. II, Stück 1, S. 76-95; Stück 2, S. 23-36. This journal, edited by Moritz, is now very rare.

⁵ This omission by Geiger is all the more remarkable, as he states, p. xvi, that he has looked through the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, as he incorrectly calls it, for possible notices of *Anton Reiser*.

graphy, but evidently without examining it. The text of the fragment, aside from several palpable misprints noted below, is here reproduced in the exact spelling of the original:

Fragment aus Anton Reisers Lebensgeschichte *

Durch das Lesen war dem jungen Anton nun auf einmal eine neue Welt eröfnet, in deren Genusz er sich für alles Unangenehme in seiner wirklichen Welt einigermaaszen entschädigen konnte. Wenn rund um ihn her nichts ⁶ als Lermen und Schelten und häuszliche Zwietracht herrschte, oder er sich vergeblich nach einem Gespielen umsah; so eilte er hin zu seinem Buche. Katechismus, Bibel, Gesangbuch, Kalender, und Butter- und Käsepapier, sobald nur etwas darauf gedrukt stand, ward mit der gröszten Begierde von ihm gelesen. Insbesondre aber studirte er fleiszig in dem Ka-

10 lender; eine alte Base muste ihm das Unverständliche darinn erklären, und nun ging er ganze Stunden lang für sich in der Stube auf und nieder, und meditirte über die Entstehung der Sonnenund Mondfinsternisse, und wie es möglich sei, dasz man sie im Veraus berechnen könne. Den Sonnenlauf glaubte er endlich ziem-

15 lich einzusehen, über den Mondeslauf aber zerbrach er sich den Kopf vergeblich.—Alles, was Geschichte in der Bibel war, las er vom Anfang bis zu Ende durch; und wann eine von den Hauptpersonen, als Moses, Samuel, oder David gestorben war, so konnte er sich Tage lang darüber betrüben, und ihm war dabei zu Muthe.

20 als sei ihm ein Freund abgestorben. So ward er schon früh aus der natürlichen Kinderwelt in eine unnatürliche idealische Welt verdrängt, worin sein Geist für tausend Freuden des Lebens verstimmt wurde, die andre mit voller Seele genieszen können.

Hierzu kam nun noch, dasz ihm im neunten Jahre sein Vater 25 der Madame Guion Schriften in die Hände gab. Diese Madame Guion ist die bekannte Schwärmerin, welche zu des berühmten Fenelons Zeiten in Frankreich lebte, mit dem sie auch einigen Umgang hatte. Sie starb in der Bastille nach einer zehnjährigen Gefangenschaft, und hat sich sonst die ganze Zeit ihres Lebens über

30 mit Bücherschreiben beschäftigt. Nach ihrem Tode fand man ihr Gehirn, wie ausgetroknet. Ihre Schriften machen eine sehr grosze Anzahl von Bänden aus. Antons Vater besasz blosz in der deutschen Uebersetzung an dreiszig Bände davon. Ihre Lehre hat viele Anhänger unter dem Namen der Quietisten und Separatisten

35 gefunden. Sie setzt die höchste Glükseligkeit in eine volkommne Ruhe, in ein völliges Ausgehen aus sich selbst, und Eingehen in ein seliges Nichts, in eine gänzliche Ertödtung aller Eigenheit, und

^{*}Einem psychologischen Roman, oder vielmehr Biographie, woran der Verfasser itzt arbeitet.

The text has: nichts.

eine reine völlig uninteressirte Liebe zu Gott, blosz um sein selbst willen. Von ihren Anhängern wird sie als eine Heilige der ersten Grösze beinahe göttlich verehrt, und jeder ihrer Aussprüche den 40 Aussprüchen der Bibel gleichgeschätzt.—In P. einem Orte, der wegen seines Gesundbrunnens berühmt ist, lebte damals der Herr v. F. auf seinen Gütern, der das Haupt dieser Sekte in Deutschland geworden war, nachdem er auf seinen Reisen in Frankreich der Madame Guion Schriften kennen gelernt, und liebgewonnen hatte. 45 Mit unermüdetem Fleisz übersetzte dieser Mann die ungeheure Anzahl der Guionschen Schriften ins Deutsche, liesz sie auf seine Kosten drukken, und theilte sie unsonst unter seine Anhänger aus,

von denen er auch wieder als ein Heiliger verehrt ward. Antons Vater war ohne eigentliche Erziehung aufgewachsen, 50 hatte seine erste Frau sehr früh geheirathet, und schon mit dieser uneinig gelebt, sie zuweilen tyrannisch behandelt, und dabei ein ziemlich wildes herumirrendes Leben geführt, wohl zuweilen einige fromme Rührungen gehabt, aber nicht viel darauf geachtet, bis er kurz nach dem Tode seiner Frau plötzlich in sich geht, tiefsinnig 55 wird, sogenannte fromme Leute aufsucht, und zufälliger Weise mit dem Verwalter des Herrn von F., und durch diesen bald darauf mit dem Herrn v. F. selbst bekannt wird. Dieser giebt ihm nach und nach die Guionschen Schriften zu lesen, und er trennt sich nun, wie der Herr v. F. und seine übrigen Anhänger, von Kirche 60 und Abendmahl. Demohngeachtet fiel es ihm ein, wieder zu heirathen, und er ging in dieser Absicht auf ein benachbartes Fräuleinstift, wo er mit Antons Mutter, die bei einer der Stiftsfräulein als Kammermädchen diente, Bekanntschaft machte, und um sie Diese war im dreiszigsten Jahre, und willigte bald in die 65 Heirath ein, das sie nie würde gethan haben, wenn sie die Hölle von Elend vorausgesehen hätte, die ihr im Ehestande drohete. Es schien ihr aber dunkel zu ahnden, indem sie vor dem Altar mit Entsetzen ihre Hand in die seinige legte, als ihr ein Gedanke von der schreklichsten Antipathie durch die Seele fuhr. Sie ganz 70 Weichheit und Zärtlichkeit, voll sanften melancholischen Gefühls, gekränkt durch 7 jede wirkliche und eingebildete Vernachläszigung, beständig süszer Aufmunterung von Liebe und Achtung bedürftig: er ein harter, kalter, trokner, mitleidloser Schwärmer, dessen Auge nie eine Thräne netzte, und der nichts von alle dem 75 geben konnte, noch mochte, was ihr weiches Herz verlangte. sehr also die Lehre der Madame Guion von der gänzlichen Ertödtung und Vernichtung aller, auch der sanftesten und zärtlichsten Leidenschaften, mit der harten und unempfindlichen Seele ihres Mannes übereinstimmte; so wenig war es ihr möglich, sich jemals 80 mit den Ideen zu verständigen, wogegen sich ihr Herz auflehnte. Dies war der erste Keim zu aller nachherigen ehelichen Zwietracht.

⁷ Text: dnrch.

Ihr Mann fing an, ihre Einsichten zu verachten, weil sie die hohen Geheimnisse nicht fassen wollte, die die Madam Guion lehrte. 85 Diese Verachtung erstrekte sich nachher auch auf ihre übrigen Einsichten; und je mehr sie dies empfand, desto stärker muszte nothwendig die eheliche Liebe sich vermindern, und das wechselseitige Miszvergnügen über einander mit jedem Tage zunehmen; wodurch denn auch die nothwendigen wirthschaftlichen Berath- 90 schlagungen wegfielen, ein jeder für sich that, was er wollte, und

das Hauswesen s sehr bald in Verwirrung und Unordnung gerieth.

Antons Mutter hatte eine starke Belesenheit in der Bibel, und eine ziemlich deutliche Erkenntnisz von ihrem Religionssystem; aber dabei blieb es denn auch. Sie wuszte z. B. sehr erbaulich

95 davon zu reden, dasz der Glaube ohne Werke todt sei und dasz der fromme Lutherus diejenigen Maulchristen nenne, die Christum nur mit dem Munde, und nicht mit der That bekennen: demohngeachtet aber fiel ihr selten ein, durch Sanftmuth, durch Geduld, durch Nachgeben in ihrem Ehestande, die Lehre Christi, von der

100 sie so viel sprach, wirklich auszuüben. Aber in ihrem Glauben war sie fest, wie sie meinte, und wuszte, dasz sie eine arme Sünderin sei, und dasz Gott sich ihrer um Christi willen erbarmen werde. In der Bibel las sie wirklich zu ganzen Stunden mit innigem Vergnügen; aber sobald ihr Mann es versuchte, ihr aus den Guionschen

105 Schriften vorzulesen, empfand sie eine Art von melancholischer Bangigkeit, die vermuthlich aus der Vorstellung entstand, sie werde dadurch in dem rechten Glauben irre gemacht werden. Sie suchte besich also davon auf alle Weise loszumachen, und wandte dies oder ienes nothwendige Geschäft vor, um nur nicht länger zuhören zu

jenes nothwendige Geschaft vor, um nur nicht langer zuhoren zu 110 dürfen. Hiezu kam nun noch, dasz sie vieles von der Kälte, und dem lieblosen Wesen ihres Mannes auf Rechnung der Guionschen Lehren schrieb, die sie nun in ihrem Herzen immer mehr zu verwünschen anfing, und bei dem völligen Ausbruch der ehelichen Zwietracht sie laut verwünschte. So ward der häusliche Frieden und

115 die Ruhe und Wohlfahrt einer Familie Jahre lang durch diese unglüklichen Schriften gestört, die wahrscheinlich einer so wenig,

wie der andre, verstehen mochte.

Herr v. F. hatte unter andern die geistliche Lieder der Madam Guion ins Deutsche übersetzt, und Antons Vater, der musikalisch 120 war, paszte ihnen Melodien an, die grösztentheils einen raschen frölichen Gang hatten. Wenn es sich nun fügte, dasz er nach einer langen Trennung einmal wieder nach Hause kam, so liesz sich denn doch die Ehegattin überreden, einige dieser Lieder mitzusingen, wozu er die Zitter spielte. Dies geschah gemeiniglich kurz 125 nach der ersten Freude des Widersehens, und diese Stunden mochten wohl noch die glüklichsten in ihrem Ehestande sein. Anton

war dann am frohsten, und stimmte oft, so gut er konnte, in diese

⁸ Text: Hausewsen.

[&]quot;Text: suchten.

Lieder ein, 10 die ein Zeichen der so seltnen wechselseitigen Harmo-

nie und Uebereinstimmung bei seinen Eltern waren.

Nebst diesen Liedern der Madam Guion gab ihm sein Vater ein 180 Buch von eben der Verfasserin in die Hände, welches 11 eine Anweisung zum innern Gebet enthielt. Hierinn ward denn gezeigt, wie man nach und nach dahin kommen könne, sich im eigentlichen Verstande mit Gott zu unterreden, und dessen göttliche Stimme im Herzen, oder das eigentliche innere Wort deutlich zu verneh-135 men; indem man nehmlich zuerst, so viel wie möglich, sich von den Sinnen los zu machen, und mit sich selbst und seinen eigenen Gedanken zu beschäftigen suchte, oder meditiren lernte, welches aber auch einst aufhören, und man sich selbst vergessen müsse, ehe man fähig sei, die Stimme Gottes in sich zu vernehmen. Dies 140 ward von Anton mit dem gröszten Eifer befolgt, weil er wirklich begierig war, so etwas Wunderbares, als die Stimme Gottes, in sich zu hören. Er sasz daher halbe Stunden lang mit verschlosznen Augen, um sich von der Sinnlichkeit abzuziehen. Sein Vater that dieses, zum gröszten Leidwesen seiner Mutter, ebenfalls. Auf Anton achtete sie nicht, weil sie ihn noch zu keiner Absicht, die er dabei haben könnte, fähig hielt. Dieser kam nun bald so weit, dasz er glaubte, von den Sinnen ziemlich abgezogen zu sein; und nun fing er an, sich wirklich mit Gott zu unterreden, mit dem er bald auf einen gewissen vertraulichen Fusz umging. Den ganzen 150 Tag über, bei seinen einsamen Spaziergängen, bei seinen Arbeiten, und sogar bei seinen Spielen sprach er mit Gott, zwar immer mit einer Art von Liebe und Zutrauen, aber doch, so wie man ohngefähr mit einem seines Gleichen spricht, mit dem man eben nicht viel Umstände zu machen pflegt; und ihm schien dann wirklich immer, 155 als ob Gott dieses oder jenes antwortete. Freilich ging es nicht so ab, dasz es nicht zuweilen etwas Murren oder Unzufriedenheit sollte gesetzt haben, wenn etwa ein unschuldiges Spielwerk mislang, oder ein Wunsch vereitelt ward. Dann hiesz es oft: "aber mir auch diese Kleinigkeit nicht einmal zu gewähren!" oder: "das 160 hättest Du doch wohl können geschehen lassen, wenn es irgend möglich gewesen wäre!" Und so nahm es sich Anton nicht übel, zuweilen mit Gott zu expostuliren; denn, obgleich davon nichts in der 12 Madam Guion Schriften stand, so glaubte er doch, es gehöre mit zum vertraulichen Umgange. 165

MORITZ.

Even a casual comparison reveals the fact that the fragment of 1783 does not at all run parallel with the book version of 1785: for example, lines 1-6^a = p. 13, lines 3-8 of Geiger's text; lines

¹⁰ Text: eln.

¹² Text: in der der Madam.

[&]quot; Text: welche.

6^b-16^a are lacking in G; lines 16^b-20^a = p. 14, l. 19-24; lines 20^b-23 = p. 13, l. 9-12; lines 25^b-27 = p. 1, l. 6-8, with changes; lines 28-31^a = p. 7, l. 11-13; lines 31^b-33^a = p. 7, l. 4-8, changed; ll. 35-38 = p. 6, l. 33-p. 7, l. 2; lines 39-41^a = p. 7, l. 14-16; lines 41^b-43 = p. 1, l. 1, 2. The fragment, therefore, represents an entirely different draft from that which was ultimately published. Its arrangement is logical: first, Anton's learning to read, and what he read, including the writings of Madame Guion; then an account of Madame Guion, developing into a description of her disciples in P., and how Anton's father came to join them; finally the description of the character of the parents, and the life of the family.

Of particular interest are those passages which do not reappear in the later version. Lines 6b-16a recount in detail Anton's early reading, and introduce eine alte Base, whereas the later version, at another place, refers abruptly to seine Base, without previous mention. Many of the suppressed passages add a touch to the description of Anton's parents. From lines 51 f. we learn that the father had married his first wife very early in life, und schon mit dieser uneinig gelebt, sie zuweilen tyrannisch behandelt. After her death, the book version records that he became ein ganz andrer Mensch, instead of which the fragment says: er . . . sogenannte fromme Leute aufsucht. Lines 68-76 give a vivid portrait of the parents: Es schien ihr aber dunkel zu ahnden, indem sie vor dem Altar mit Entsetzen ihre Hand in die seinige legte, als ihr ein Gedanke von der schreklichsten Antipathie durch die Seele fuhr. Sie ganz Weichheit und Zärtlichkeit, voll sanften melancholischen Gefühls, gekränkt durch jede wirkliche und eingebildete Vernachläszigung, beständig süszer Aufmunterung von Liebe und Achtung bedürftig: er ein harter, kalter, trokner, mitleidloser Schwärmer, dessen Auge nie eine Thräne netzte, und der nichts von alle dem geben konnte, noch mochte, was ihr weiches Herz verlangte. In the description of their quarrels the additional sentence is found, ll. 89-91: wodurch denn auch die nothwendigen wirthschaftlichen Berathschlagungen wegfielen, ein jeder für sich that, was er wollte, und das Hauswesen sehr bald in Verwirrung und Unordnung gerieth. The mother's knowledge of the Bible, and her system of theology, are described in lines 92-102, and her creed is enlarged upon as follows: . . . und dasz der fromme Lutherus diejenigen Maulchristen nenne, die Christum nur mit dem Munde, und nicht mit der That bekennen: demohngeachtet aber fiel ihr selten ein, durch Sanftmuth, durch Geduld, durch Nachgeben in ihrem Ehestande, die Lehre Christi, von der sie so viel sprach, wirklich auszuüben. Aber in ihrem Glauben war sie fest, wie sie meinte, und wuszte, dasz sie eine arme Sünderin sei, und dasz Gott sich ihrer um Christi willen erbarmen werde. Three lines later, we again meet with the adjective melancholisch, and here, as above, it was suppressed in the later version. In lines 108 f. we have the further information concerning the mother: Sie . . . wandte dies oder jenes nothwendige Geschäft vor, um nur nicht länger zuhören zu dürfen.

In addition to this supplementary description of the mother's character, we also learn certain facts in her life, which Eybisch, who evidently had not consulted the fragment, has merely conjectured. He states, for example, p. 7: "Vor ihrer Verheiratung mag sie im Kloster Fischbeck bei dem Stiftsfräulein von Halcken gedient haben, die das Kirchenbuch der Garnisongemeinde Hameln als einzige Patin ihres ersten Sohnes aufführt." Compare with this, lines 61-65 of the fragment: Demohngeachtet fiel es ihm ein, wieder zu heirathen, und er ging in dieser Absicht auf ein benachbartes Fräuleinstift, wo er mit Antons Mutter, die bei einer der Stiftsfräulein als Kammermädchen diente, Bekanntschaft machte, und um sie warb. Diese war im dreiszigsten Jahre, . . . The last statement, likewise suppressed in the later version, is at variance with Eybisch, whose account would make her 34 years old at the time. His information, to be sure, is taken from a church record, but it is the record of her death: gestorben den 19. September . . . alt: 62 Jahre, 6 Monate. Whether the pastor at Holtorf, when he recorded her death, had more accurate knowledge of the mother's age than the son, is at least open to question, particularly as the earlier records of the family are found in different parishes.

These, and other comparisons that could be made, demonstrate the value of the fragment, not merely as showing the development of the author's technique, but also in connection with the facts of his own life, and that of his parents.

W. KURRELMEYER.

THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW FOR 1590

The "Midsummer Show," which became connected with the Lord Mayor's procession in the XVI century, brought pageantry into the civic ceremony which has kept it—with occasional interruptions—to our day. The first clear instance of this transfer, is that recorded in the *Diary* of Henry Machyn, citizen and merchant-tailor of London, in the year 1553.

From then on, the Lord Mayor's Show grew in elaboration, and in 1585 the dramatist George Peele did not scorn to write the speeches for the "triumph." He again wrote the speeches for a civic show in 1588—no copy of which exists. The title-page, as

¹ His Diary from 1550 to 1563 has been edited from Ms. Cotton Vit. F. v. for the Camden Society by J. G. Nichols. (Camd. Soc. publ. no. 42.) It is referred to by many writers on pageantry, among them Unwin, The Gilds and Companies of London (London, 1908), p. 275; cf. also Clode, Early History of the Merchant-Taylors' Company (London, 1888), II, p. 113 f.; Price, A Descriptive Account of the Guildhall of the City of London: its History and Associations (London, 1886), p. 92; Fairholt, Lord Mayor's Pageants (London, 1843), pt. I, p. 244 f.; and J. Nichols's note in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1833 (vol. CIII, II), p. 315 f.

² A copy of this—" the earliest of City Pageants"—is in the Bodleian at Oxford (Gough, Lond., 122. 1). It is reprinted in Harl, Misc., x, p. 351 f.; Strype's Stow's Survey (1720) II, p. 136 f.; J. Nichols, Progresses, etc., of Queen Elizabeth, II, p. 446 f.; and in his History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, IV, p. 496 f.; in Bullen's Peele, I, p. 351 f.; Price, op. cit., p. 199 f. Cf. also Fairholt, op. cit., p. 24 (quoting from Dyce's Peele (1829) vol. II); Wadmore, Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Skinners of London. . . . (London, 1902), p. 144 f.; Greg, A List of Masques, Pageants, etc., (London, 1902) p. 22; J. G. Nichols, London Pageants (London, 1831) p. 100; J. Nichols in the Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1824, p. 113; Hone, Ancient Mysteries Described (London, 1823) p. 249.

The "1581" pageant referred to by Herbert, History of the Livery Companies (London, 1834), I, p. 200, is clearly this one; the printer's error is obvious.

³ See Arber, The Stationers' Register, II, p. 504 under 28 October, 1588. Cf. also Fleay, Biog. Chron. Eng. Drama, 1559-1642, II, pp. 154 and 402. Fairholt, p. 26, notes that this "device of the pageant" was licensed to be printed by Richard Jones, and that no copy is known to exist; "neither are the titles of any other than this one preserved between the years 1585

we find it in the Stationers' Register, reads as follows: "Entred for his [i. e., Richard Jones's] Copie vppon Condicion that it maye be lycenced, ye device of the Pageant borne before the Righte honorable Martyn Calthrop lorde majour of the Cytie of London the 29th daie of October 1588 George Peele the Authour. . . . vj d."

A copy of the rare pamphlet describing the civic festival of 1590 may be found in the British Museum.⁴ In view of Fairholt's remark (cited in note 3) an outline of this show should be made. The title-page reads: The Device of the Pageant: Set forth by the Worshipfull Companie of the Fishmongers, for the right honorable Iohn Allot: established Lord Maior of London, and Maior of the Staple for this present yeers of our Lord 1590. By T. Nelson. London, 1590. (B. L.)

The first speech, "spoken by him that rideth on the Merman," explains that his mount typifies those who

... are strange, & do digres fro reason That shun in eating fish and flesh, to keepe both time and season, Which fault reformd, our comon wealth would florish in such wise, As neuer anie did beholde the like with mortall eies.

The "speech spoken by him that rideth on the Vnicorne" is the customary adjuration to the Mayor to rule well and be forever famous. Then "Fame sounding a trumpet" spoke, followed by "The Peace of England"—"Wisedome on one side supporting the State," "Pollicie on the other side supporting the State," "Gods Truth," Plentie, Loialtie, and Concord, Ambition, Commonwealth, Science and Labour, Richard the Second (who spoke two lines, calling on Walworth for help, and promising him what he will as a reward) Jacke Straw, another Commonwealth in the shape of Sir William Walworth who, as he mentions the honors given him by the king, points to them, they being "placed neere

and 1591, though we may reasonably suppose that others were printed." In a note, he refers to Gifford's opinion that Munday contributed several during this period.

Cf. J. Nichols, in the Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1824, (vol. XCIV, II), p. 113 f.; the wording of this article, entitled London Pageants in the Reign of James I, bears a striking resemblance to many passages in Fairholt.

⁴BM: C. 83. d. 25. The title is mentioned in Greg, op. cit., p. 21.

about him in the Pageant." It may be remarked that Nelson repeats the error, common enough in these shows, of considering the dagger in the shield of the City of London, Walworth's daggerbestowed on the City to commemorate the bravery of its Mayor; 5 he notes that Walworth won the Fishmongers their crest ("two armes bearing vp a crowne") and received a crest for himself. The speeches only are given in the pamphlet; the pageant is not described, but is once spoken of in the singular. The fact that in these early pageantic Lord Mayor's shows, there was usually but one pageant, may have influenced the change in the meaning of this word from "pageant-car"-or what today we should call "float"-to a "brilliant spectacle," whether or not there were a pageant in it. To this vague meaning has succeeded the very definite one of our time: an historical folk-play, given by the community, of the community, and for the community. The Parkerian insistence on historical accuracy, marked in England, is unfortunately not always made on this side of the water.

Of the elements found in this 1590 show, history and allegory are the most prominent. There is no Biblical character—though these, as well as the patron saints of the guilds, are sometimes found in the civic pageantry of London. The trade symbolism of the Merman is obvious; he and the Unicorn, with their riders, were probably apart from the pageant, which seems to have been stationary, though it may have progressed through the streets after the mayor had passed, taking up its march behind him. This was common in the seventeenth century shows; and there were moving pageants in the earlier shows, as well as in the festivals

*Says Straw in his speech: "Jacke Straw the rebell I present, Wat Tyler was my aide. . . . Yet for our bad ambitious mindes by Walworth we were tamde. . . . He being Maior of London then . . . slew me first. . . ." This suggests the history in modern pageantry; and is as instructive as the contemporary chronicle-history plays, with which the Parkerian pageant of our own day is not unconnected.

Cf. Fairholt, op. cit., p. 116, n. 2: "The pertinacity with which the company cling to the assertion that his (Walworth's) dagger was added to the city arms, a fact which so common a book as Hone's Everyday Book can refute, and which Nichols justly styles a vulgar error, is altogether singular. It is the sword of St. Paul, and not the dagger of Walworth, and was placed on the civic shield long before the latter was born."

Walworth was a favorite figure in the civic shows; he appeared in 1616, 1700, 1740, 1884, 1913—to name a few of them.

from which the Lord Mayor's Show derived its pageantry. Richard's cry for help introduces history, and suggests a formless chronicle-play—more expository than Kynge Johan—though it deals with but one incident. There is no sign of a plot in the speeches of the allegorical figures; and this is largely due to the circumstances of the presentation.⁶

The seven-page pamphlet ends as follows:

Time
Time serues for all things,
Time runneth fast,
We craue your patience
for the time is past.

Undoubtedly the characters in this pageant were presented by children. This was a common practice in earlier shows, as a glance at earlier records will indicate. In 1556, when Sir Thomas Offley was inaugurated, "Mr. Leere, the schoolmaster of St. Anthony's, received 10 s for the children who played at the Pageant." In 1561, when Sir W. Harper began his term of office, the guild paid "to John Tayllour, master of the children of the late monastere of Westminster, for his children that sung and played in the pageant, xxx s." The records of the Ironmongers' Company

"The "technique" of the Lord Mayor's Show is, of course, that of the procession. No story can be told when the mayor can stop before the pageant only a short time; if the pageant joined the procession after the speeches had been delivered, the persons, like those on a modern "float," became part of a tableau vivant. The presence of the allegorical figures, and their relation to the moralities, demand a separate consideration. The allegorical significance given to trade-symbols is a natural development within the field of civic pageantry.

This is not in black-letter as is the rest; is it an epilogue spoken by Time? I am inclined so to regard it; but it may be an epilogue written for the pamphlet, added after the show had been given.

*Clode, op. cit., II, p. 269, n. 2: This curious item is added from the Merchant-Tailors' Records: "Paid for Rosewater spent and occupied aboute the children and hym that rode upon the camyll, iiij s. ij d." Cf. ibid., p. 262 f. for further notes on this pageant, and Machyn's Diary, p. 117 f.

⁹ The records of the Company, printed by Clode, II, p. 269. The speeches are printed, *ibid.*, p. 267 f.—the account of the preparations begins on p. 262. David, Orpheus, Amphion and Iopas are the chief characters—a compliment to the Harper of London. Another account of this occasion is to be found in Machyn, op. cit., p. 271.

show that in 1566, "At the same p'sent tyme John Tailor, Schoole m^r of the children of Westm^r, is also agreed w^t all for vj. of his children to serve in the foresaid pageant, as well for the speeches as songs; and for his paynes in that behalfe to have the some of xl s. and for performance hereof the same John Tailor hath put to his hande the same day and yeare abovesaid." Four boys addressed complimentary speeches to Sir Thomas Rowe in 1568. These are, perhaps, instances enough to show how common the practice was of getting children to take part in the civic pageants.

The rarity of Thomas Nelson's pamphlet warrants a reprinting of the copy in the British Museum, and this the days after the war may see. Our interest in these "triumphs" which have—with surprisingly little interruption—been an annual feature of London life for more than seven hundred years, is not due to their dramatic qualities so much as to the picture of urban life and of folk-entertainment in bygone days which we get from reading the accounts of them. From the middle of the sixteenth century, these

¹⁰ Nicholl, Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers, compiled from their own Records and other Authentic Sources of Information (London, 1866), p. 86. This record is dated 1 October, 1566. Cf. ibid., p. 87 f.: among the accounts is this:

"Item, paide to James Pele, for seven paire of gloves for the children in the pagent, sixpence a pair, iij s. vj d." This Peele has been identified as the father of the dramatist; cf. Chambers, Mediaeval Stage (Oxford, 1903), II, p. 166; Hazlitt, Livery Companies of the City of London (London, 1892), p. 310, n. 1. Nicholl, p. 88, n., says: "He was contemporary with and may have been a relative or elder brother of George Peele. . . . Mr. Dyce, however, makes no mention of him in his biography of the dramatist. . . ." The DNB (1895), XLIV, p. 225, names James Peele "citizen and salter of London" as the father of George; he "apparently" had a "younger son James" who was turned out of Christ's Hospital in 1579 with his elder brother (Ibid., p. 226). Cf. Bullen's Peele, I, xiii, f.

For further accounts of this show, see Malcolm, Londinium Redivivum, (London, 1803-07) II, p. 42 f.; Fairholt, op. cit., p. 14 f.; Herbert, Hist.

Liv. Comps., II, p. 592.

¹¹ Cf. Herbert, I, p. 200; Chambers, II, p. 166; Fairholt, p. 20. J. G. Nichols, London Pageants, p. 94, quotes John Day's "Order observed by the Lord Mayor," etc., of 1568, which does not mention a pageant in the stricter sense of the word; there was one, however, which included John the Baptist, the patron of the Merchant-Tailors' Company. He appeared "gorgyusly, with goodly speches" in 1553; and with a Grocer in 1554. (See Machyn's Diary.)

shows have been pageantic; they reached the height of splendor in the seventeenth century, when such men as Middleton, Dekker, Heywood and even Webster did not find it beneath their dignity to plan a civic celebration with pageant-cars and speeches; in our own day, they returned to a higher level of art in the hands of Mr. Louis N. Parker, "the father of modern pageantry," who designed the shows of 1907 and 1908. In the long line of writers and planners of these pageants occurs the name of Nelson, merging for a moment from the obscurity of his printing office to stand beside that of Peele, whose third show was written in 1591.

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NOTES ON JOHN TREVISA

A. The Date of His Death

The date for Trevisa's death has generally been accepted as 1412. Smith ¹ based his claim for 1412 on the Episcopal Registers of Worcester. His statement is: "Reg. Wigorn. This Trevisa dyed the 13th year of King Henry the fourth, whom John Bone-John succeeded in that vicarage, whom this lord ² made one of his Executors; and proved a false priest to the heir male of his said lord as after I shall touch."

Henry Wharton, the seventeenth century antiquarian and collector, gives the same date. His note, preserved for us in "Codices

²² The first one, coming two years after the Sherborne Pageant, showed The Edwards of England: and the second—"an historical literary pageant"—The Press, the Poets and the Musicians of England from Chaucer to Milton. The "Official Programs" or "Orders of Procession" of these two shows are in the Harvard Library, together with most of those from 1884 to date.

¹⁵ See the *DNB* (1894), XL, p. 213; he was a ballad-writer and printer; proceeding B. A. (Clare College, Cantab.) in 1568, he became a member of the Stationers' Company in 1580, and seems to have died shortly after 1592. He printed many short tracts and ballads, some of which, like this Lord Mayor's Show, he wrote himself.

¹ Sir John McLean, The Lives of The Berkeley's, by John Smyth of Nibley, 3 vols., 1883, II, p. 22.

² Thomas 5th, the 10th Lord of Berkeley (1353-1417).

Whartoniani," is a part of Ms. Lambeth 585, preserved in Lambeth Palace. The reference, p. 627, is as follows: "Trevisa obitt. 13 H, 4, et successorem habuit in Vicaria Johan Bone-John. Ex. Regro Wigorn."

Practically all the students of Trevisa from Tanner 3 to Kings-

ford 4 have given the same date.

The date of his death has been finally settled by the discovery of the entry dealing with the appointment of his successor to the Berkeley Vicarage. The entry is found under the date of 1402, in Vol. XVII, in the unprinted Bishop's Register 5 of the diocese of Worcester, during the bishopric of R. Clifford 1401-1407. These registers are preserved in Worcester Cathedral. The entry under the year 1402 is as follows (Reg. Clifford. f. 14d):

Berkelegh Vicaria. Vicesimo primo die dicte mensis Maii dictus Vicarius in spiritualibus apud London ad vicariam ecclesie parochialis de Berkelegh Wygornensis diocesie per mortem magistri Johannis Trevisa ultimum vicarium ejusdem vacantem; dominum Johannem Bonjon Presbyterum ad presentationem Religiosorum virorum abbatis et conventus monasterii Sancti Augustini juxta Bristoll admisit ad vicarium perpetuum de corporaliter inibi residendo juxta formam constitutionem dominorum Othonis et Ottoboni quondam sedis apostolici in Anglia legatorum in hac parte editarum juratum instituit canonicem in eadem cum sine juribus et pertinentus universis. Quibus die et loco dictus dominus Johannes. Juravit obediam domino et habuit litteras institutionis ac mandatum ad inducendum directi archiadiacono Gloucestrensis ut est moris.

B. Trevisa and the Translations

(1) Vegetius, De Re Militari, and (2) Aegidius, De Regimine Principum are not mentioned by Pits or Bale. Thomas Tanner (p. 720), the first to speak of them, seems certain that Trevisa was the translator. Note his reasons: "In Cod. Bodl. Digby. 233, est translatio Vegetii de re militari. Pr. 'In olde tyme it was the manere.' Haec verisimiliter Trevisae debetur, quia facta erat ad mandatum dom. Tho. Berkeley. A. M. ccccVIII in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum finita. In eodem codice simili manu habetur translatio.

³ Thomas Tanner, Bibl. Britannico-Hibernica, Lond., 1748, p. 720.

⁴ C. L. Kingsford, Dict. of National Biography.

⁵ These registers, for 1350-1420, were carefully examined for me by Rev. J. Harvey Bloom, Whitchurch, Stratford-on-Avon, and the above entry communicated to me in a letter under date Feb. 12th, 1915.

cum eleganfi pictura monachi regi librum dantes, Aegidii Romani de regimine principum. Pr. 'To hys special, etc. politik sentence that is.'"

(1) De Re Militari

Babington,⁶ after mentioning the Ms. Digby 233 at Bodleian, and saying that the work was composed at the request of Lord Berkeley, and finished in 1408, concludes: "This is reasonably presumed to be executed by Trevisa, as well as a translation of Aegidius Romanus' De Regimine Principum, contained in the same volume." Cooke in his Trevisa article in 1876 for Trans. of Bristol & Gloc. Arch. Soc. I, 138 regards it as Trevisa's last work, finished in 1408, four years before his death, at the age of 90. He says: "The translation of Vegetius has been attributed to Hoccleve, from a copy of it in the Bodleian Library being bound up with Hoccleve's "De Regimine Principis." The characteristic dedication, however, at its conclusion, sufficiently proves its true authorship." Cooke gives the dedication thus: "To us alle God Graunt grace of our offendynge, space to our amendynge, and his face to be seen at our endyng. Amen."

Boase and Courtney ⁷ say: "De re militari was composed at Lord Berkeley's request and finished in 1408. It is sometimes said to have been done by Trevisa, but from the account in H. O. Coxe's Catalogus Mss qui in Collegiis aulisque Oxon. adservantur (1852) 11, 19, of another copy at Magd. Coll. Oxford, the translation would seem to have been executed by Clifton." Coxe in describing Ms. XXX Magdalen says: "Latino in Anglicum sermonem versi per Clifton quendam, jussu Thomae domini Berkeley." The name Clif or Cleftoun was first given by Francis Douce. He was followed by Caley, in describing one of the Vegetius Mss. viz. B. M. Lansdoune 285. Macray is of the same opinion. F. Madan, the librarian of Bodley suggests Bannerton in his examination of the Manuscript. Mr. J. H. Wylie gives Walton. The most

Rolls Series of Higden's Polychronicon, I, p. lv.

⁷ Bibl. Cornub., II, 798.

^{*} Caley's Catalogue of Lansdowne MSS.

⁹ Rev. Wm. D. Macray, Cat. Cod. MSS. Digby, 1883, p. 243.

¹⁰ Summary Catalogue of Western MSS., IV, 582.

¹¹ Hist. of England in the time of Henry the Fourth, N. London, 1894, II, 273.

recent note on the authorship of this work is by Mr. H. N. Mac-Cracken, in an article entitled "Vegetius in English," written for the Kittredge Anniversary Papers (1913).

Mr. MacCracken gives the various guesses to date, has some remarks about the meaning of the word Trevisa, lists with notes the nine known English Mss. and furthermore compares Trevisa forms from the *Polychronicon* with forms from Vegetius. He says: "So closely does the Vegetius conform in style, dialect, and vocabulary to the acknowledged work of John Trevisa, that it is hard to believe any other had a hand in it. The mystery, under present knowledge, seems insoluble, and may be no clearer when a full comparison of the Vegetius with Trevisa's known work is made, for the writer believes it will only confirm the claim of identity here advanced." So much for the various opinions as to the translations.

Tanner, who led the way in the Trevisa theory, doubtless based his claim on the Digby Colophon which runs thus:

Here endeth pe book pat Clerkes Clepun in latyne Vigesius de re militari pe book of Vigesii of dedus of Kny3thod pe which book was translated and turned fro latyn in to englesh at pe ordinaunce and byddynge of pe worthi and worschepful lord sire Thomas of Berkeley to gret disport and dalyaunce of lordes and all worthy werryours pat ben appased by wey of age al labour and trauaillyng and to grete informacioun and lernyng of 30nge lordes and Kny3ttes pat ben lusty and louep to here and see and to vse deduse of armes and chiualrye. Pe turnynge of pis book into englisch was wreton and endud in vigile of all halwes pe 3eer of oure lord. A pousand foure hundred and pe ei3te xo 3eer of kynge henry pe forpe. To him and to vs alle god graunt grace of our offendynge, space to our amendynge and his face to seen at our endyng. Amen. This is his name pat turned pis book fro latyn into Englische.

Worschepful [toun "

Other Mss. having this colophon, with slight variations are: Magd. Coll. Oxford 30; Bodley Douce 291; Bodl. Laud. Misc. 416, omits cryptogram; Br. Mus. Royal 18A XII omits crypt.; Br. Mus. Lansdowne 285, omits crypt.

From the closing in Digby, Tanner concludes that Trevisa was the translator. He had concluded his two important translations, viz. *Polychronicon* 1387, and *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, 1398, in a similar way (omitting the author's signature). Both were trans-

lated at the request of Lord Berkeley. Vegetius was finished in 1408. Tanner quotes Wharton, whose statement is based on the Worcester Register, that Trevisa lived until 1412 (see above). Tanner evidently did not consider the signature.

The counts against Trevisa as the translator are:

- (1) The newly found date of his death, 1402, instead of the heretofore accepted date, 1412. The colophon tells us that the Vegetius was written and ended in 1408.
- (2) Trevisa in no other translation gives his signature in this form. If the signature " [] toun" be his, this work is unique.
- (3) A careful reading of the Digby Ms. 233 revealed none of the well known Trevisa annotations or notes. These occur at every turn in the *Polychronicon*. There are over 100 of them, covering some 600 lines. Except in a few cases they are signed "Trevisa." We find them also in *De Prop. Rerum*. Once he has a noted annotation in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, twice in *De Regimine Principum*, and even in his short translation of *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*, he has a most interesting note. Had Trevisa translated Vegetius, we should have expected some of his explanations to appear. The work is fairly long, covering Fols. 183-227; there is excellent material for explanation and comment. A close comparison with the Latin original may reveal notes and comment, unsigned. A few such occur in the *Polychronicon*.

Before the question is finally settled, a full comparison of the Vegetius with Trevisa's known works must be made, and the date 1408 must be explained away.

(2) De Regimine Principum of Egidius de Colonna

This prose work of the Rule of Princes is found in but one Ms. viz., Bodl. Digby 233, covering fols. 1-182 b(2), and immediately followed by Vegetius. Both are written in the same hand.

We have already, in connection with Vegetius, noticed the comments in regard to this work. Cooke and others in the '70s regarded it as Hoccleve's. Boase and Courtney only remark: "This translation is supposed to have been executed by Trevisa." MacCracken regards it as Trevisa's. In naming the Mss. of Vegetius, under Digby, he says: "Follows translation by same author of

'De Regimine Principum.'" Miss Greenwood 12 mentions it in the Trevisa list, but questions it, as well as Vegetius. There is no evidence in the closing sentences that Trevisa wrote it. It ends without any reference to patron, date or author. It reads thus, f. 182 b(2), "And al such doynge bei scholde ordeyne for be comyn profit and for pees of citeseyns. ffor 3if bei disiren be comyn profit and pees of be citeseyns bei schulle have bat perpetual pees in be whiche is cheef quiete and reste. be whiche pees god graunteb and byhoteb to his owne trewe seruantes bat is I blessed for everemore. Amen."

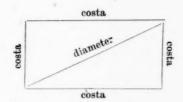
We find, however, evidence of Trevisa's authorship from two interesting annotations or additions.¹³ The first is found fol. 143 b (2), Chap. XVI. Just before the entry Aegidius is speaking of the four powers, that "scholde be knowe in rewelyng of a citee. be prince, be consaile, be 3eldhalle, and be puple." The work of the prince has been discussed, then he comes to speak of the consaile. He enumerates six things,

bat falleb not vnder consaille; first al byng bat is in mutable and may not chaunge is out of oure consaile. for we taken consaille for to be reweled in owre dedes and nedes. and for to voide euel and for to have good pan pynges pat may not be voided and bynges bat may not be changed falled not vnder counsaille, berfore iii ethicorum, it is Iseid bat of evere lastynge bynges and of bynges bat may not chaunge no man axeb consaille for no man axeb consaille of be dvameter bat may not be Imeete by be costa neber ober thinges pat may not change. Trevisa, for pe menynge hereof it is to wetynge bat in quadrate liche long and brood ben four lynes liche longe and be foure sides berof and eche of thilke foure side lynes is Icleped costa, and a lyne Idrawe in lengbe fro be oo cornere of be quadrate to anober corner in be ober side is Icleped dyameter and pat diameter is lenger pan costa and it may not be knowe in nombrane in what proporcioun be dyameter is longere ban costa.14

¹² Cambridge Hist. of English Literature, II, 444.

¹³ These were found in a hasty survey of the MS. A careful reading and comparison with a Latin MS. may reveal others, unsigned, as in the *Polychronicon*, where a scribe has failed to insert "Trevisa" at the beginning of the note.

¹⁴ Trevisa's note ends with the diagram.



be seconde also of bynges but meuen alwey in on manere wise is no counsaille etc.

The second addition, or note, is in Chap. XVII, folio 144 b(1)

ffor as it is Iseide iiio ethicorum pere eche consail be a question, seet not eche questioun is a counsaile. ffor sif consaille is Itake onliche of thinges pat stonde in oure dedes consaille is a questioun not of alle thinge but onliche of doynge and dedes of mankynde Of speculatif thinges and of kynde of thinges and of evere lastynge thinges may be manye questions but suche questions ben not Icleped consailes. Treuysa. cours of sterres and planettes and of opere things of kynde pat may not chaunge ben Icleped speculabilia doynge and dedes of mankynde ben Icleped Agibilia.

From Tanner, who writes of this work in connection with Vegetius: "In eodem codice (Digby 233) simili manu habetur translatio—Eorte Trevisa ejus auctor," to MacCracken, all writers, except Cooke who speaks of Hoccleve and Miss Greenwood who questions it, have assigned it to Trevisa without hesitation or doubt, but without giving any reason. Is it because the work is bound up in the same Ms. as Vegetius, and written in the same hand? The above Trevisa notes, the only sound evidence of authorship so far adduced, have never before been noted. Perhaps Trevisa's authorship may be more fairly established when a close study of style, structure, etc., is made, and the work is compared with Trevisa's well known translations, Polychronicon, De Proprietatibus Rerum, and Nicodemus.

In my "Life and the Minor Works of John Trevisa" which is under preparation for the Early English Text Society, I have gone into this matter in greater detail.

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PERIOD OF GREATEST POPULARITY OF VOLTAIRE'S PLAYS ON THE ENGLISH STAGE

In Shakespeare and Voltaire, the late Professor Lounsbury cites as one of the causes for the success of Mrs. Montagu's Essay attacking Voltaire (1769) a coldness towards him in England reflected in the growing lack of interest in his plays. In making this point Professor Lounsbury analyzes the history of Voltaire as dramatist on the English stage, describing the years from 1729 to 1744 as a period of active appreciation and adaptation, the year 1744 as bringing the turn of the tide, and the years from 1744 to Voltaire's death in 1778 as marked by a 'sudden cessation of interest' in him.

The details of the stage history of Voltaire's plays in England

do not support this analysis.

In the first period, from Voltaire's return from exile in 1729 to the publication of the preface to Mérope in 1744, Professor Lounsbury holds that 'English playwrights were disposed . . . to lay hands upon anything and everything Voltaire wrote for the theatre, without regard to the way it was received in the land of its birth.' Yet in those years only Brutus, Zara, Alzira, and Mahomet were presented on the London stage, the first at Drury Lane in the season of 1734-35, the second in York Buildings in the summer of 1735 and at Drury Lane in the season of 1735-36, the third at Lincoln's Inn Fields in the summer of 1736 and at Drury Lane in the season of 1743-44, and the fourth at Drury Lane in the same season, 1743-44.2 Meanwhile many of Voltaire's plays had no representation in England. The tragedies, Ériphyle (1732), Adélaide du Guesclin (1734), La Mort de César (1735, played 1743), and Zulime (1740); the comedies, Les Originaux (1732), L'Échange (1734), and L'Enfant Prodigue (1736); to say nothing of the earlier plays, Oedipe (1718), Artémire (1720), Marianne (1724), and L'Indiscret (1725), did not appear before 1744 on the English stage in any form.

Coming to the publication of the preface to Mérope in 1744, Professor Lounsbury says that it marked the turn of the tide to-

¹ New York, 1902, 304 ff.

² The dates are from Genest: Some Account of the English Stage, Bath, 1832, under the seasons mentioned.

wards a 'cessation of interest' in Voltaire, and that 'the great success of that play upon the French stage did not lead to any speedy reproduction of it upon the English.' It is true that *Mérope* was not performed in London until 1749, but its French success can not be said to have gone unnoticed in England, as John Theobald published a translation of it in 1744 and Aaron Hill completed his adaptation of it in 1745.4

Then comes the period from 1744 to Voltaire's death in 1778. In these years, says Professor Lounsbury, 'Voltaire composed . . . about thirty dramatic pieces of all kinds. . . . But of these thirty only a beggarly number were adapted for the London stage. . . .' He then lists seven adaptations. If to this list be added Arthur Murphy's Alzuma, a mosaic from several plays of Voltaire (Covent Garden, season 1772-73), Thomas Francklin's adaptation of Le Duc de Foix, called Matilda (Drury Lane, season 1774-75), Aaron Hill's Roman Revenge, a version of La Mort de César (played at Bath in the summer of 1753), and Charles Macklin's use of a portion of Nanine in The Man of the World (Dublin, season 1765-66, Covent Garden, season 1780-81), the catalogue hardly makes up a 'beggarly number' in comparison with the four adaptations played before 1744.

But more significant than the number of the adaptations is their fate in England. Of the seven adaptations after 1744 mentioned by him, Professor Lounsbury says that 'With the exception of The English Merchant (L'Écossaise), none of these pieces had much success, none outlived their first season.' Yet Genest's records performances of The Orphan of China, after the first Drury Lane presentation in April, 1759, during the season of 1759-60 at

³ Biographia Dramatica, London, 1812, III, 36.

Aaron Hill, Works, London, 1753, II, 307.

⁵ Of L'Orphélin de la Chine, L'Écossaise, Tancrède, Les Scythes, Sémiramis, Oreste, L'Indiscret.

⁶ For evidence for the addition of Matilda, Roman Revenge, and The Man of the World, see article: "English Adaptations of Voltaire's Plays," Modern Language Notes, XXXII, 247. The influence of Voltaire in Alzuma is noted in English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century, Nettleton, New York, 1914, 237.

⁷Mentioned by Professor Lounsbury under the adaptations before 1744, though not played until 1753.

⁵ In sections of Some Account of the English Stage, under the listed seasons.

Drury Lane and in Dublin, of 1760-61 at both theatres in Dublin, of 1763-64 at Drury Lane, of 1764-65 at Drury Lane, of 1765-66 at Drury Lane, of 1767-68 at Drury Lane and in Dublin, of 1772-73 at Dublin, of 1777-78 at Covent Garden, of 1794-95 at Drury Lane, and of 1809-10 at Dublin, besides provincial productions. No One's Enemy But His Own (L'Indiscret), brought out at Covent Garden in 1764, was revived there ten years later, on October 26, 1774. Again, and the point is far more important to the decision as to the period of greatest stage popularity for Voltaire in England, the early adaptations made before 1744 were best appreciated in the later years of the century. In contrast to their presentation during one or two seasons before 1750, they had considerable stage careers after that date. Thus Genest tells of performances of Zara at Covent Garden in the season of 1750-51; at Drury Lane in 1753-54; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane in 1755-56; at Drury Lane in 1756-57; at Drury Lane in 1757-58; at Drury Lane and Covent Garden in 1758-59; at Drury Lane in 1759-60; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane in 1760-61, 1761-62; at Drury Lane in 1762-63, 1763-64, 1764-65, 1765-66, 1766-67; at Drury Lane and Covent Garden in 1767-68, 1768-69; at Drury Lane in 1769-70, 1770-71, 1771-72, 1772-73, 1773-74; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane in 1774-75, 1775-76; at Covent Garden in 1777-78; at Drury Lane in 1780-81; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane and Dublin in 1781-82; at Covent Garden and Dublin in 1782-83; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane in 1784-85; at Drury Lane in 1785-86; at Covent Garden in 1791-92, 1796-97, 1804-05, 1805-06, and 1812-13. Alzira, on the same authority, was played at Covent Garden in the season of 1754-55; at Drury Lane in 1756-57, and at Covent Garden in 1757-58. Mahomet was acted at Dublin in the season of 1753-54; at Drury Lane in 1765-66, 1766-67; at Covent Garden in 1767-68, 1768-69, 1771-72; at Drury Lane in 1775-76, 1778-79; at Covent Garden in 1785-86, 1786-87; at Drury Lane in 1794-95; and at Covent Garden in 1796-97. Finally, Mérope was played at Drury Lane in the seasons of 1749-50, 1752-53, 1753-54, 1757-58, 1758-59, 1759-60, 1760-61, 1765-66, 1769-70, 1772-73, 1773-74; at Covent Garden and Drury Lane in 1776-77; at Drury Lane in 1778-79; at Covent Garden in 1786-87, 1797-98, and 1805-06. To these considerations should be added the popularity (mentioned by Professor Lounsbury) of The English Merchant, which

ran at Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and the Haymarket at intervals from 1767 to 1789.

Does it not seem, then, that the stage history of Voltaire's plays in England indicates, not an active period of adaptation before 1744, turning to a 'cessation of interest' thereafter, but rather a period of direct but narrow interest before 1744, growing, after that time, into a broad, perhaps scattering, but certainly vigorous popularity, which reached its climax in the third quarter of the century?

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NOTES ON THOMAS HEYWOOD'S AGES

In an admirable article on "The Siege of Troy in Elizabethan Literature" 1 Professor J. S. P. Tatlock has, among other useful services, set forth in detail the source material for Thomas Heywood's series of classical chronicle histories, the Golden, Silver, Brazen, and Iron Ages. He corrects the prevailing impression that Heywood relied mainly on Ovid (cf. e. g. Schelling: "Thomas Heywood, who on one occasion sat down to write, a copy of Ovid's Metamorphoses on his left hand, and translated it into five plays, omitting little and extenuating nothing"2) and demonstrates his chief dependence on Caxton's Recuyell. In fact, Heywood's following of Caxton is frequently so close and so prolonged as to be positively slavish; Golden Age is nothing in the world but a dramatized novel, adhering to its source with a fidelity without parallel, so far as I recall, in Elizabethan drama. Silver Age uses Ovid to a considerable extent; Brazen Age is least dependent on Caxton and has most frequent recourse to Ovid. Iron Age is almost as close to Caxton as is Golden Age. It is my purpose in this paper to make certain additions to Prof. Tatlock's list of sources.

In the second act of Golden Age Jupiter's seduction of Calisto is, as Tatlock remarks, very close to Caxton. There is, however,

³ Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn. (1915), xxx, 673-770.

² Elizabethan Drama, 1, xxxiv. Cf. also Pearson reprint of Heywood's Plays, 1, xx; Introd. to Mermaid Ed., xix.

a decided difference in tone between the prose account and the play in both parts of the episode, the wooing and the rape. The latter has in the play a tone of broad comedy quite lacking in Caxton's sober account, with its medieval conception of an amour as an affair of sighs and tears and long speeches; for the conduct of the scene in broadest vein Heywood needed no suggestion and no model.3 In the wooing scene there is again the difference between the medieval courtesy of Caxton's situation and Heywood's more spirited presentation of his impetuous, cajoling, arguing Jupiter and sparring, crafty Calisto. The hint for Jupiter's argument against chastity is doubtless to be found in Caxton: "ye be yong and fayr amonge none of yow that so go in to religyon may growe no fruyt of children Aduyse yow wel hit were better that ye abode amonge the worldly peple that enplenyssh the world." 4 But there is some reason to think that for the phrasing of the argument Heywood received suggestions from Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis:

(a) What is it when you loose your mayden-head,
 But make your beauty live, when you be dead,
 In your faire issue?.....
 Leave to the world your like for face and stature,
 That the next age may praise your gifts of nature.

By law of nature thou art bound to breed,
That thine may live when thou thyself art dead;
And so, in spite of death, thou dost survive,
In that thy likeness still is left alive. V. and A., 171-4.

- (b) Men were got to get; you borne others to beare.
 Thou wast begot; to get it is thy duty. V. and A., 168.
- (c) This flower will wither, not being cropt in time; Age is too late, then do not loose your prime.

Fair flowers that are not gather'd in their prime Rot and consume themselves in little time. V. and A., 131-2.

It will not do to insist very strongly upon these resemblances, for the question of possible relationship is complicated by the

³ Swinburne's suggestion that it is imitated from the twenty-seventh idyl of Theocritus is unnecessary.

^{*}Recuyell, ed. H. O. Sommer, p. 51.

The Heywood citations are from the Pearson reprint, vol. III, pp. 25-26.

popularity of the motif. The close connection between the *Venus* and *Adonis* and the first seventeen of Shakespeare's Sonnets, the Procreation group, has been studied in detail, and parallels have been found elsewhere, e. g. in *Hero and Leander* and the *Arcadia*. Thus we may compare a above with the following:

How much more praise deserv'd thy beauty's use If thou couldst answer, "This fair child of mine Shall sum my count and make my old excuse," Proving his beauty by succession thine! Son. 2.

Make thee another self for love of me, That beauty still may live in thine or thee. Son. 10.

Various other parallels follow:

- (d) Women, faire Queene, are nothing without men:
 You are but cyphers, empty roomes to fill,
 And till men's figures come, uncounted still.
 One is no number; maids are nothing, then,
 Without the sweet society of men. Hero and Leander, 255-6.
- (e) To live a maid, what is't? 'tis to live nothing: 'Tis like a covetous man to hoord up treasure, Bar'd from your own use, and from others' pleasure.

Then treasure is abus'd, When misers keep it; being put to loan, In time it will return us two for one. *H. and L.*, 234-6. Then, beauteous niggard, why dost thou abuse The bounteous largess given thee to give? Profitless usurer, why dost thou use So great a sum of sums, yet canst not live? Son. 4.

(f) Oh thinke, faire creature, that you had a mother, One that bore you that you might bear another.

Dear my love, you know You had a father; let your son say so. Son. 13.

Nature, when you were first borne, vowed you a woman, and as she made you child of a mother, so to do your best to be mother of a child. Arcadia, bk. III.

(g) Should all effect the strict life you desire,
 The world it selfe should end when we expire.
 If all were minded so, the times should cease
 And threescore year would make the world away. Son. 11.

Cf. Alden's Variorum edition of the Sonnets.

⁷ Cambridge English Classics, p. 379.

Koeppel, who noted certain of these parallels,⁸ was on the safe side when he remarked: "Viel gewicht ist diesen übereinstimmungen jedoch nicht beizulegen, derselbe anlass konnte leicht dieselben gedanken erzeugen." ⁹

The possibility of any imitation of the sonnets by Heywood is practically obviated by the date of the composition of Golden Age; although not printed till 1611, it was probably written 1594-6.10 That Heywood was one of the "private friends" among whom the "sugred Sonnets" had circulated before 1598, according to Meres, is not probable, since in 1595 he was a young and practically unknown man, at the very beginning of his career. His acquaintance with Venus and Adonis, however, can be proved by other means.

The additional evidence is to be found in the Venus and Adonis episode in Brazen Age. Of this Tatlock says that it is clearly from the Metamorphoses, 11 and Koeppel dismisses it with the following comment: "Der wortlaut seiner kurzen scenen erinnert uns nur selten an das zweifellos auch ihm wohlbekannte, üppige epos Shakespeare's, er hat die gefährliche nähe möglichst gemieden. Eine auffälligere, nicht unbedingt vom stoffe geforderte übereinstimmung bemerken wir nur in der warnung der Venus vor der jagd auf den eber, Sh.'s Venus hatte gesagt: But if thou needes wilt hunt, be ruled by me; Uncouple at the timorous flying hare, Or at the fox which lives by subtlety (v. 673 ff.), und so lesen wir auch bei Heywood in ihrer rede: Hunt thou the beasts that flye, The wanton Squirrell, or the trembling Hare, The crafty Fox: these pastimes fearelesse are (vol. III, p. 186). Bei der reichlichen überlieferung der schönen sage ist es aber wohl möglich dass auch diese ähnlichkeit auf eine gemeinsame quelle zurückzuführen sein wird." 12 Although Heywood's trio of harmless beasts is obviously closer to Shakespeare's than to Ovid's "fleet hares, or the stag with lofty horns, or the hinds," this similarity, if it stood alone, would furnish no basis for argument that Heywood was conscious-

^{*} a, c, and e.

⁹ Shakespeare's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker, in Bang's Materialien z. Kunde d. ält. engl. Dr., 1x, 16-17.

¹⁰ The evidence is best presented by Tatlock.

¹¹ x, 519 ff.

¹² Op. cit., p. 20.

ly using Venus and Adonis as a model. But here are a number of other parallel passages:

Why doth Adonis flye the Queene of love, And shun this Ivory girdle of my armes? 12

I have hemm'd thee here

Within the circuit of this ivory pale. V. and A., 229-30.

To be thus scarft the dreadfull God of warre Would give me conquered kingdomes.

I have been wooed, as I entreat thee now, Even by the stern and direful god of war.... Who conquers where he comes in every jar. V. and A., 97-100.

Come, let us tumble on this violet banke, Pre'thee be wanton; let us toy and play.

Be bold to play, our sport is not in sight; These blue-vein'd violets whereon we lean. V. and A., 124-5.

Witness this primrose bank whereon I lie. V. and A., 151.

Looke on me, Adon, with a steadfast eye, That in these Christall glasses I may see My beauty.

Look in mine eye-balls, there thy beauty lies. V. and A., 119.

With my white fingers I will clap thy cheeke.

Her other tender hand his fair cheek feels: His tenderer cheek receives her soft hand's print.

V. and A., 352-3.

Madame, you are not modest.

He saith she is immodest, blames her miss. V. and A., 53.

Thou art not man; yet wert thou made of stone I have heat to melt thee.

Fie, lifeless picture, cold and senseless stone, . . .

Thing like a man, but of no woman bred!

Thou art no man, though of a man's complexion.

V. and A., 211-15.

I have kisses that can murder unkinde words.

What follows more she murders with a kiss. V. and A., 54.

Alas! my brow's so smooth

It will not beare a wrinkle.

Thou canst not see one wrinkle in my brow. V. and A., 139.

¹² Pearson reprint, 111, 184-6.

To support the evidence of these quotations there are other indications that Heywood had recourse to Venus and Adonis as well as to the Metamorphoses. The first obvious resemblance to Ovid's narrative comes at about line 64: "Hunt thou the beasts that fly;" the following lines are a pretty close rendering of Ovid. There is nothing in the Latin to suggest the first part of the scene, in which the amorous goddess woos the cold Adonis, intent on his hunting. The first sixty lines, then, are either original or were suggested by some source other than Ovid. What more probable source than Shakespeare's widely read poem? Heywood have helped falling under its influence, writing as he probably did, while the poem was still enjoying its greatest popularity at the top of that vogue for erotic poetry which marked the last decade of the sixteenth century? In addition to the verbal likenesses cited above, all of which occur in the first sixty lines, there are these specific points of likeness, which are not to be found in Ovid: (a) the strenuous wooing of the goddess with the emphasis upon physical allurements; (b) the reluctance of Adonis and his immaturity; (c) the goddess's premonition and prevision of Adonis's death by the boar: cf. Brazen Age 186:

> That very word (boar) strooke from my heart all joy; It startled mee: methinkes I see thee dye By that rude Boare

with Venus and Adonis 661 ff.:

And more than so, presenteth to mine eye The picture of an angry chafing boar, Under whose sharp fangs on his back doth lie An image like thyself, all stain'd with gore.

Now a and b are the essential features of the Shakesperean development of Ovid's story. Is it likely that Heywood added them independently?

The story of Medea and Jason in Brazen Age, which Tatlock attributes to the Metamorphoses or Tristia, or possibly to V. Flaccus's Argonauticon, is most largely indebted to Metamorphoses. Medea's account of the origin of the golden fleece, not given in Met., is taken from the Fasti, III, 855 ff.; while for the death of Absyrtus Heywood turns to Tristia, III, 9. The Mars and Venus episode, attributed by Tatlock to Metamorphoses, is in reality

¹⁴ IV, 171 ff.

taken from Ars Amatoria, II, 562 ff. (cf. Venus's mocking of Vulcan, her weeping, her vow to repeat openly what she had hitherto done by stealth, Vulcan's acknowledgment that he has acted foolishly, the "moral" of the tale). The latter is longer and closer to the original version in the eighth book of the Odyssey; that Heywood used the Latin rather than the Greek is proved by the fact that in details where the two differ he always agrees with Ovid. This episode, skilfully enough developed from Ovid's brief account, with some graceful incidental verse, is the best single illustration of the extremely loose structure of the Ages. It has not a shadow of connection with anything that precedes or follows it, is introduced in the middle of a serious narrative solely for the sake of its risqué comedy, and Heywood can find no better excuse for its introduction than his apologetic explanation in the prologue to the act:

Loath are we, curteous auditors, to cloy Your appetites with viands of one taste.

In conclusion, to show the profusion of sources from which Heywood drew his material for the *Ages* and his early acquaintance with classical literature (which may be of importance in connection with the question whether he had a university education) there follows an enumeration of works upon which he actually or probably drew.

Classical: Iliad.

Lucian's 'Ονειρος ή 'Αλεκτρυών.

Aeneid.

Ovid's Metamorphoses, Fasti, Tristia, Ars Amatoria,

Heroides.

Plautus's Amphitruo.

English: Caxton's Recuyell.

Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis. Peele's Arraignment of Paris.

Greene's Euphues his Censure to Philautus.

The revenge play type.15

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¹⁵ Cf. my article, "A New Specimen of the Revenge Play," Modern Philology (awaiting publication).

FOUR LETTERS OF RACINE

Four of Racine's letters, privately owned in England, have remained either unnoticed or unauthenticated by his editors. Their existence in the possession of Alfred Morrison was noted by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts ¹ as early as 1883, some years before Mesnard's definitive edition of Racine. By writing to the Commission, I learned that the Morrison manuscripts are now at Sotheby's and will shortly be offered there for sale. It is to be hoped that when this happens the purchaser will allow the letters to be examined and their authenticity finally determined. In the uncertainty, however, of this event, especially if they continue to be overlooked by Romance scholars, I wish to call attention to the existence of these letters and to the information that can now be had with regard to them.

Three of them receive scant notice from the Commission. first is dated April 30th, 1691, "au Camps [Camp] deuant Mans [Mons]." It may have been addressed to Boileau, to whom Racine wrote from this place on the third of the same month.2 If the date is correct, it shows that Racine lingered at the camp after the capture of the town on the 8th and the King's departure for Versailles four days later. The other two are addressed to Racine's sister. Mlle Rivière, at La Ferté-Milon. One was sent from Versailles "ce 22 Feurier," the other from Paris "ce jour des Cendres." The term Mademoiselle could, of course, be applied at this time to a married woman of the middle class. It is regularly used by Racine in addressing his sister after her marriage, although he writes to his wife as Madame.3 As Racine's sister was not married till June 1676, the letters must have been written between that year and 1699, date of the poet's death. They may, perhaps, have been despatched in the winter of 1697, for no other letters addressed to her between January and May of that year are extant, although Racine writes in the latter month as if she then received letters

¹ Ninth Report, Part II, p. 462, London, 1883.

² P. Mesnard, *Œuvres de J. Racine* (Grands Écrivains edition). Paris, Hachette, 1870, vII, 15.

³ Ibid., VII, 31.

from him quite frequently, using the phrase 4 " quoique vous n'ayez pas eu de mes nouvelles depuis quinze jours."

The remaining letter, addressed to "Madame Racine, rue des Maçons, proche la Sorbonne, à Paris," is quoted as follows:

"Au quesnoy le 16e May 1692. Je vous escrivis hier de Catteau Cambresis. Nous sommes arriuez á [à] nos quartiers du Quesnoy où j'ay á [à] peine le temps de vous escrire vn mot, et comme je vous le mandois nous parton[s] demain de Valenciennes pour le Camps [Camp] de Géuries pres de Mons où est le rendez-vous des armées de Flandre. Les [dames] qu'on laisse icy ont tesenoigné [tesmoigné] desirer de suivre le Roy au Camp, ce qui a beaucoup diverty Sa Majesté. Nous serons encore a quinze lieues de Namur ou [où] nous arriverons vraysembla[ble]ment le 25 de ce mois. On vient d'amene[r] au Roy deux manières de paisans qui estoient sortis de Mons avec des lettres de l'ennemy qui y a des intelligences. Ces lettres portent que la Ville de Namur peut tenir plusieurs mois contre les forces du Roy. Mais cela n'est nullement vraysemblable, et la Campagne ne sera point longue. Escriuez a [à] vostre Frere touchent [touchant] vostre fermier. Adieu mon cher cœur, embrasse tes enfans pour moy, et donne moy souuent des nouuelles de nostre fils. Qu'il travaille et se mette en estat de viure en honneste homme. Adieu, à demain-Racine."

The facts stated in this letter are confirmed by the author's correspondence and by the journal of Dangeau. The letter written to Mme Racine from Cateau-Cambresis states 5 that next day Racine will be at Le Quesnoy, the ladies of the court will be left there, and the following day he will be at the camp near Mons. Dangeau tells 6 of the King's dining near Le Quesnoy on the 16th and promising the ladies to take them to Mons and show them his army. On May 17th he states that Louis has chosen a site for his camp at "Givry sur la Trouille à deux lieues de Mons," from which place Racine, who spells it "Gévries," writes 7 to Boileau on May 21st. On the 31st he dated a letter 8 from the "camp devant Namur," which town, according to his prediction, held out only till June 5th, its Château till June 30th. What he writes to his wife about her farmer and her children resembles closely expressions in his letter 9 of May 15th. Similar phrases are found in other letters of

^{*} Ibid., VII, 172. 5 Ibid., VII, 29.

Journal, cited by Mesnard, op. cit., vII, 32, 33.
 Ibid., vII, 33.
 Ibid., vII, 39.
 Ibid., vII, 29, 31.

Racine.¹⁰ There would seem to be no reason, therefore, to doubt the authenticity of this document, but Mesnard, misled, as I believe, by an abbreviated copy of it, would have it otherwise.

In 1844 Aimé-Martin 11 published a letter from Racine to his

wife which runs as follows:

"Au Quesnoy, le 16 mars.

'Je vous écrivis hier de Cateau-Cambrésis; nous sommes arrivés à nos quartiers, et, comme je vous le mandois, nous partons

demain pour le camp devant Mons.

'Les dames qu'on laisse ici ont témoigné le desir de suivre le roi au camp; ce qui a beaucoup réjoui Sa Majesté. On vient d'amener au roi deux manières de paysans, qui étoient sortis de Mons avec des lettres de l'ennemi. Ces lettres portent que la ville peut tenir plusieurs mois contre les forces du roi, mais cela est peu vraisemblable, et la campagne ne sera point longue.

'Écrivez à votre frère touchant votre fermier. Adieu, mon cher cœur; embrasse tes enfants pour moi, et donne-moi souvent des nouvelles de notre fils. Qu'il travaille et se mette en état de vivre

et honnête homme. Adieu, à demain."

Mesnard 12 cites this letter only to attempt to prove it a forgery. He argues that the date is incorrect, as Mons was not besieged till after March 16th, 1691, and that no ladies from the court followed the Mons campaign. But these objections do not hold with regard to the Morrison copy of the letter, for there it is not a question of the siege of Mons in 1691, but of Namur in May, 1692. Mesnard is suspicious of "donne-moi souvent des nouvelles de notre fils" because in his letter of May 15th Racine had written, "écris-moi souvent ou lui," but this is surely not a serious argument against the authenticity of the letter. He also points out three cases of resemblance in style between this and other letters of Racine, suggesting that the letter published by Aimé-Martin is a series of phrases imitated from these other letters. Such resemblances are, however, no proof of forgery. It is unnecessary to point out that a man frequently uses the same form of expression when repeating an idea. Such phrases tend, as a matter of fact, to confirm a letter's authenticity.

12 Op. cit., VII, 32.

¹⁰ Ibid., VII, 18, "deux manières de paysans," "ces lettres portoient que la place ne pouvoit plus tenir"; 31, "adieu, mon cher cœur"; 125, "se mettre en état de vivre en honnête homme."

¹¹ Œuvres complètes de J. Racine, Paris, Lefèvre, 1844, vi, 415.

So convinced was Mesnard, however, of the spurious nature of the document that, when he read ¹³ in a catalogue of 1854 that there would be offered for sale an autograph letter from Racine to his wife, dated "Au Quesnoy, le 16 mai 1692" and containing the phrases, "Nous partons demain pour le camp de Gévries, près de Mons, où est le rendez-vous des armées de Flandre" and "Namur ne peut tenir contre les forces du Roi," he took it to be merely a new copy "adroitement corrigée" of the supposed forgery published by Aimé-Martin. The letter thus referred to in this catalogue of the Chassiron sale he apparently did not see. It is highly probable that it is the copy which subsequently crossed the Channel, for the phrases quoted closely resemble passages in the Morrison letter.

As I have already said, an examination of the manuscripts will show whether they are written in Racine's hand. Until such an examination is made, we must rely upon the preponderance of our evidence, which points clearly to the genuineness of the letters in the Morrison collection. The document published by Aimé-Martin is an abbreviated and otherwise incorrect copy of one of these.

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REVIEWS

- A First Reader in Spanish. By RUDOLPH SCHEVILL. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1917. viii + 181 pp.
- Elementary Spanish-American Reader. Edited with exercises, notes and vocabulary, by Frederick Bliss Luquiens. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917. vii + 224 pp.
- Spanish Reader of South American History. Edited with notes, exercises and vocabulary, by Edward Watson Supple. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917. vii + 375 pp.
- Spanish-American Composition Book. By J. WARSHAW. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1917. iv + 156 pp.

¹³ Ibid., VII, 33.

- Lecturas Fáciles con ejercicios. By LAWRENCE A. WILKINS and MAX A. LURIA. Boston: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1916. viii + 266 pp.
- A Trip to Latin America (In very simple Spanish), with conversation and composition exercises and vocabulary. By Ventura Fuentes and Victor E. François. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1917. vii + 196 pp.

Two tendencies are quite pronounced in practically all of the new texts in Spanish. There is first a generous and general response to the appeal of the Pan-American Congress that we learn something about the countries to the south of us. Every one of the books noticed contains Latin-American material. Four of them present only that, and the other two divide their space between Spain and Spanish America. All of them contain maps of the American republics, and five of them are illustrated by photographs of places and people of interest to the student of South America. The use of this kind of subject-matter should unquestionably be encouraged. When presented with due regard to his present ignorance, this material is of the highest interest to the student, both academically and practically. Its use cannot but help to create a more sympathetic understanding of our neighbors, and will contribute to the Pan-American spirit which it is so desirable to foster. Research will not suffer from it because a greater number of the students, brought to the subject by this interest, will almost inevitably continue their study of Spanish in the advanced courses where the study of the literature of Spain is the subject of instruction.

The second tendency is a decided trend toward a more direct method of instruction. All of the new books are provided with exercises, the aim of which is to secure a practical command of the language. This is as it should be. The chief justification for the study of Spanish on the scale on which it is being carried on in this country today is that it has a practical value. The students who crowd our classes are interested primarily in learning the language as a means of intercourse. They want to learn to read, but chiefly to write and speak Spanish, and we shall fail in our duty if we do not do all in our power to equip them to do so. The writer would not be surprised to see the war, and the special interest in

Spanish to which it has given rise, result in a new emphasis on the practical teaching of all languages in our schools throughout the country. Whether the movement becomes general or not, it obviously devolves upon the teachers of Spanish to meet the new situation by that kind of work.

A First Reader in Spanish by Professor Schevill shows the new tendencies less than any of the other books under consideration. It is made up of 110 pages of poetry and prose, only about twenty pages of the latter dealing with America. The practical work is limited to questions on the first thirty-nine pages of text, and the illustrative matter consists of two maps and a number of woodcuts, most of them having no Spanish interest. The selection of material for early reading is largely a matter of taste, but the writer questions the use of so much that is un-Spanish, and of matter that is as difficult as some included in this book. The notes fail to mention, in the discussion of elementary grammar, points as important as the neuter article, the infinitive with al, and the absolute construction with the participle. The clause "El Alcalde hizo sus observaciones" is mistranslated in note 77:2. The translation should read "The mayor objected." The vocabulary, too, seems at times inadequate. No suitable translation is given for acudir as used in 81:4, of ajustar in 81:10, of andar 76:24, digno 79:3, guardar 79:3, harto 78:12, verse 80:25. Neither the notes nor the vocabulary explain hubo de sulfurarse 77:6.

The Elementary Spanish-American Reader by Professor Luquiens offers an excellent selection of historical and descriptive material, together with a number of stories of literary merit. The choice of the material is attributed in the preface to Professor De Vitis. Questions and composition exercises follow each selection, and four maps and fifteen photogravures tend to make the book more attractive. The notes are full, but are not free from error. An obvious slip is the statement in note 4:21, "Before nouns, and in numbers greater than itself, 100 is cien." The statement in note 66:9 regarding the use of se as one of two object pronouns in the third person is hardly correct from an historical standpoint. The further statement, "The change is made for the sake of euphony," is not in accord with Bello-Cuervo, 946, N. The translation of "Al punto mismo que lo vió" in note 71:23 is incorrect. It should read "The moment he saw him." The suggestion regard-

ing licenciado, 76:4, is also incorrect. There is no "humorous intent." The word means here only "discharged prisoner." The sentence should be translated "He had served a term in the San Juan penitentiary." The translation given to explain the use of tener in 76:20 is questionable. In this case there is practically no difference between haber and tener. The postpositive demonstrative noted in 83:9 is neither a pronoun nor irregular. Although not especially noted by the grammarians, examples of demonstratives following the noun occur in Hanssen, § 539, Garner, § 81, Olmsted and Gordon, § 61, N., and the construction is not rare. In the notes to 65:15 and 87:6 the author has confused a practice in Spain and a common usage in South America. According to Dr. Hills (Spanish Short Stories, D. C. Heath and Co., 1910, p. 225), vos is, in South America, simply "a more formal expression than tú, but less formal than usted." Cf. also Lenz, Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil. xv, 518. The vocabulary of the book, in so far as examined, is both complete and adequate.

With the aim of helping to "supply the need of suitable classroom texts dealing with South America," Professor E. W. Supple
has edited a series of nine historical selections in a Spanish Reader
of South American History. The text and exercises, eight maps
and four illustrations, fill 258 pages. The book seems to be a conscientious and painstaking piece of work, but it is a question
whether students in the early years of the course could read these
extracts with either pleasure or profit. The long paragraphs, made
up of long, involved sentences and offering considerable difficulty
in vocabulary, are in themselves repellent, and the subject-matter,
however important, is treated in too great detail to prove interesting
to persons who have hardly heard of Bolívar or San Martín, and
whose notions of South-American geography are only too vague.

It is difficult to see just what Professor J. Warshaw has tried to do in his Spanish-American Composition Book. The book is intended for early use, but the material serving as a basis for the exercises is written in an eloquent, rather than an informative style, and is very far from containing the everyday vocabulary that a beginner in Spanish needs to know. The book might do for advanced translation into Spanish, but few teachers will succeed with it in elementary work.

The writer is in hearty accord with the principles, set forth in

the preface, that have determined the nature and form of Lecturas Fáciles by L. A. Wilkins and M. A. Luria. If students of Spanish are to acquire Spanish, as distinguished from a knowledge of facts about it, the language of the early reading must be simple enough to render translations in class almost unnecessary, and thus enable teacher and class to devote their whole time and energy to the actual mastery of the selection. It is with this idea that Lecturas Fáciles has been made. The writers have aimed to provide reading matter that should be simple without being childish, and that should contain a practical, everyday vocabulary. The subjectmatter, which concerns both Spain and Latin America, meets both of these requirements. The selections are easy, and most of them are interesting. As a means of securing that working-over of the material which the "read and translate" method does not afford, and which is undoubtedly the method of teaching language practically that can be most effectively used in our schools, each reading lesson is followed by exercises consisting of a cuestionario, verb drills, directions for giving summaries, word studies, sentences for translation into Spanish, and incomplete sentences. The exercises are admirably designed for their purpose, and will undoubtedly give excellent results. The notes are where they should be, at the bottom of the page, and the vocabulary meets all requirements. The book, which is well provided with maps and illustrations, is on the whole an admirable piece of work and will meet the commendation of all teachers who are interested primarily in teaching the lan-

Similar to Lecturas Fáciles, but evidently designed for earlier use, is A Trip to South America by V. Fuentes and V. E. François. The reading matter is wholly original and so simple that the book can be used almost at the beginning of the course. Twenty-eight short chapters give in simple narrative, dialogue, or letter form, brief accounts of the countries and matters of interest in Spanish America. Each chapter is followed by exercises for reworking the material, similar to those of Lectures Fáciles but easier, more varied, and requiring less original work.

In the opinion of the writer, these last two books represent the type of text that will be of greatest service in the teaching of Spanish. The writer is not a "direct methodist," but he is convinced that if Spanish teachers are going to retain the hold they

have gained in the last three years, they will have to concern themselves chiefly with practical work. The method of teaching that seems to be taking form in this country is a more or less intensive inductive study of suitable texts. The method is scientific, interesting, and flexible. If our texts are provided with exercises like those used in these two texts, this method can be used as easily as the reading method, by any live teacher. The writer hopes that future editors will provide us with more advanced texts equipped as are these two.

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The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton, (1734-1771), including more than One Hundred Letters now first published, etc. By Paget Toynbee. 2 vols. Oxford, At The Clarendon Press, 1915.

This interesting and beautiful book reflects great credit on both editor and publishers. Binding, paper, print, and illustrations (including portraits and facsimiles) could hardly be more attractive and fitting. There are in all three portraits of Gray, three of Walpole, and one of Ashton. Two of the portraits of Gray serve as frontispieces to the two volumes.

In the Preface the editor informs the reader that "of 248 letters contained in these volumes, 111 are now printed for the first time, namely, eighty-nine by Gray, five by Walpole, nine by West, and eight by Ashton; and twenty-one are now first printed in full, namely, fifteen by Gray, one by Walpole, one by West, and four by Ashton. Of the remaining 116, which have been reprinted from various sources, forty-nine were written by Gray, twenty-nine by Walpole, twenty-nine by West, and nine by Ashton; thus making a total of 153 letters by Gray, thirty-five by Walpole, thirty-nine by West, and twenty-one by Ashton.

The hitherto unpublished letters of Gray, Walpole, and West, it was my good fortune to find, in the course of my inquiries for Walpole letters, in the possession of the late Sir Francis E. Waller, Bart., of Woodcote, Warwick, who not only readily acceded to my request for permission to publish them, but further, with great generosity, placed at my disposal for a prolonged period, for the

purposes of this work, the whole of his valuable collection of Walpole correspondence and other papers preserved at Woodcote. This collection, it may be explained, came, as it were, by direct descent from Walpole himself to the late owner, having been bequeathed to the then head of the family, Sir Mathew Waller, by Walpole's executrix and residuary legatee." ¹

The book is dedicated "To the memory of Captain Sir Francis Ernest Waller, Bart.," and a note at the close of the Preface definitely links the publication of the letters with the war that is now in progress.

The introduction (pp. xvii-xlv) is arranged in twelve sections or paragraphs, dealing with the following subjects in a concise and illuminating manner: The 'Quadruple Alliance'; Their Pseudonyms; Gray at Eton and Cambridge—His alleged early residence at Pembroke; Foreign Tour of Gray and Walpole; The Quarrel between Gray and Walpole—The Part Played by Ashton—Their Reconcilation; Gray in Residence at Cambridge—Publication of his Poems; The Newly Printed Letters of Gray—Walpole's Estimate of the Early Letters—Evidence of his Intention to Publish Them; Horace Walpole—Early Years; Walpole in Parliament—Intercourse with Gray—Strawberry Hill; The Strawberry Hill Press—Walpole's Literary Works—His Indebtedness to Gray—Visits to Paris—Death of Gray; Richard West; Thomas Ashton.

Toynbee has thrown interesting light upon many rather obscure points in the life of Gray. First of all, the new letters seem to establish beyond a doubt the identity of the pseudonyms of the members of the 'Quadruple Alliance.' As has long been known, Gray's name was 'Orosmades' (or 'Orozmades') and West's 'Favonius' or 'Zephyrus.' But the names of Ashton and Walpole have hitherto remained matters of dispute. From several of the early letters of Gray to Walpole there can be no doubt that Walpole was known as 'Celadon' among his close friends at Eton, "presumably after the amorous shepherd of that name in D'Urfé's pastoral romance of Astrée, or perhaps after the swain so called in Thomson's Summer." Since the publication of Tovey's Gray and His Friends "Ashton has usually been identified with 'Plato,'

¹ Pp. vii-viii.

² Introd., p. xviii. But Gosse in E. M. of L., pp. 11, says, "Tydeus is very clearly Walpole himself."

³ Cambridge, 1890.

but it is more probable that he was 'Almanzor,' "-a character in Dryden's Conquest of Granada, in which Ashton probably acted while at Eton.4 Tovey says on this point 5: "Ashton was dubbed 'Plato' by his Eton friends; why, I cannot tell, except in as far as he was supposed to have some skill in Greek." "The terms in which Walpole speaks of 'Plato,'" says Toynbee, "are hardly consistent with the intimate relations which are known to have subsisted between him and Ashton. Further, 'Plato' is only once mentioned by Gray (namely, in his letter to Walpole of 24 Dec., 1735), and that only incidentally, in consequence of a reference by West to Walpole's mention of him. 'Almanzor,' on the other hand, as appears from Gray's references to him, was intimate, as was Ashton, both with Walpole and with Gray. 'Almanzor' was at King's, as was Ashton; and was in residence before Walpole went up to Cambridge, as was Ashton. 'Almanzor,' again, is mentioned next after 'Orosmades' by West in his list, and the two are coupled together by Walpole as his two closest Eton friends at Cambridge, as Gray and Ashton undoubtedly were. All the available evidence, therefore, points to the identification of Ashton with 'Almanzor'" 6

In still another point connected with Gray's early career Toynbee corrects the poet's biographers. "The persistent statement of recent biographers that Gray went for a time first to Pembroke, pending his admission to Peterhouse, has no evidence to support it. In the Peterhouse Admission Book, in which the record of Gray's admission is printed in full, no mention is made of any migration from Pembroke; he is described simply as from Eton. . . . Nor is there any record in the Pembroke Admission Book of his having been entered there, as alleged, in 1734 before his admission to Peterhouse. Gray's early letters to Walpole, dating from April, 1734, . . . are equally silent on the subject.

This legend as to Gray's early residence at Pembroke seems to have originated in a slip on the part of Mitford, the well-known editor of the works of Gray." Mitford, after repeating "almost

⁴ Toynbee, Introd., p. xix, and footnote 6.

⁸ Op. cit., p. 2; also p. 80, footnote.

⁶ Toynbee, Introd., pp. xix-xx. Northup says (Essays and Criticisms by Thomas Gray, Boston, Heath & Co., 1911, Introd., p. xi): "Thomas Ashton was nicknamed 'Plato'." Gosse suggests (op. cit.) that "Almanzor is probably Ashton."

verbatim" a passage on Gray's educational advantages from Mason's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray, says in the succeeding paragraph of his Life of Gray (1816): "'When Gray removed to Peterhouse (i. e. from Eton) Horace Walpole went to King's College in the same University.' In the version of his Life of Gray, however, published twenty years later (in 1836) Mitford, apparently by an oversight, made a material alteration in this account. He there states that Gray 'was educated at Eton under the protection of Mr. Antrobus, his maternal uncle, who was at that time assistant to Dr. George, and also a Fellow of Pembroke College at Cambridge, where Gray was admitted as a pensioner in 1734.' Here we have the statement that Gray's uncle was a Fellow, not of Peterhouse (as he was in fact), but of Pembroke, and that Gray was admitted as a pensioner of the latter college. In view of this statement, the 'removal to Peterhouse' in the next sentence naturally acquires a wholly different significance, and implies a removal, not from Eton, as before, but from Pembroke, to Peterhouse." 7

Toynbee has nothing really new to say about the now famous quarrel between Gray and Walpole, but he is inclined to accept the statement made by Walpole to Mason in a letter of March 2, 1773, at its full face value. "The reconciliation, which took place in November, 1745, seems to have been sincere and complete on Gray's, as well as on Walpole's part." And the large number of letters which Gray sent Walpole between 1746 and the close of his life would not seem to give the slightest ground for the assertion that the two friends "gradually drifted apart" in the closing years of Gray's life. Moreover, judging by the length and character of

Ibid., pp. xxi-xxii. Gosse says, op. cit., p. 8: "In 1734 the 'Quadruple Alliance' broke up. Gray, and probably Ashton, proceeded to Cambridge, where the former was for a short time a pensioner of Pembroke Hall, but went over, on the 3rd of July, as a fellow-commoner to his uncle Antrobus's college Peterhouse." The same statement by Bradshaw (Aldine ed. of Gray's Poems, p. xxvii), Tovey (Cambr. Hist. of Eng. Lit., vol. x, p. 131), Northup, (op. cit., p. xii).

⁸ Ibid., p. xxviii, footnote 38. (ii); cf. letter of Gray to Wharton, Nov. 16, 1745, reprinted by Toynbee, Introd., p. xxix.

^o Northup, op. cit., Introd., p. xxiii. With the new letters printed by Toynbee we have 31 letters (instead of "only six") from Gray to Walpole between 1759 and 1771, and 57 from 1746 to 1759.

many of these letters, the correspondence with Walpole must have been definitely stimulating to Gray. Certain letters were written in answer to questions that Walpole asked his friend about manuscripts and rare books which might contain vauable information for the former's Anecdotes of Painting in England, and are full of the minutest antiquarian and historical details. But if Walpole merely wished information about some newly acquired picture or other work of art, history or antiquity, Gray replied with equal pains, good-will, and enthusiasm. Between April 1734 and the beginning of 1739 Gray wrote in all 49 letters to Walpole, 24 of which fall in the two years (12 to each year) 1735 and 1736. And all but ten of these forty-nine are published for the first time in Toynbee's two volumes.

If any further evidence were needed to put to rest forever the once popular conception of Gray as an extremely moody and melancholy being from his youth, these early letters furnish that evidence in abundance.¹² They are for the most part bubbling over with life, good spirits, and genuine humor. Virtually all the letters of Gray's younger years, and a great many from the last years of his life suggest that the light, humorous vein has been entirely

 $^{10}\,\mathrm{See}$ letter No. 215, Sept. 2, 1760, which fills almost 20 printed pages, Toynbee, 11, 186-206.

¹¹ Cf. letters 185-186, Toynbee, 11, 132-146, both of which are "now first printed from the originals in Waller Collection."

²² Even the careful and impartial reading of Gray's later letters in Tovey's edition, does not leave the impression of undue melancholy. Cf. Gosse, op. cit., p. 12 ff. Saintsbury is on the safest critical ground when he says (The Peace of the Augustans, London, 1916, p. 240): "That he had fits of melancholy is certain—it would have been strange if a man of his poetic temperament, of weak health, and leading, though entirely by his own choice, a quasi-monastic life, with absolutely no fixed duties or occupations had not had them. But that this melancholy was no Weltschmerz, no anticipated Jacopo-Ortism or Obermannishness, that it had little or nothing to do with any feeling that the time was out of joint or that he was out of joint with the time, the present writer has long been convinced. . . . In poetry he may be, and is, and will be here treated as one of the 'disturbers of the Happy Valley'; in prose he is nothing of the kind."

Again, he says (p. 247): "That Gray's melancholy appears in (or rather behind) the letters is perfectly true; but it has perhaps been exaggerated, even by those who have not fallen into the other and Arnoldian exaggeration of his being born out of due time. It is so difficult not to

too much neglected, just as the melancholy strain has been too much emphasized, by the poet's critics and biographers. 18 Gray was by nature a humorist,—as genuine a humorist as Cowper, without the latter's gloomy melancholy. In the letters to his most intimate friends like Walpole, West, and Wharton Gray's wit and humor flow and flash constantly. It seems to have been impossible for him to repress this exuberance of spirits. And this thought suggests, perhaps, one reason,-possibly the main reason,-why Gray "never spoke out" in poetry.14 Letter-writing was easy for him, we must believe; was apparently his easiest, most natural medium for communicating his real self to his friends. Poetry was, it would seem, not easy for him; he is so frequently stiff, stilted, and labored in both thought and diction; so seldom indeed anything else, even in the most inspired passages of the great Elegy. It must therefore be remembered that he was one of the most voluminous, as well as one of the greatest, letter-writers of the eighteenth century; 15 and whenever he felt the necessity of giving free expression to his thoughts and opinions he generally had recourse to the familiar letter rather than to poetry.

The small number of letters written by Walpole to Gray (only eleven) is in marked contrast to the one hundred and twenty-three

confuse the worker and the work that most people, no doubt, and even some of the elect sometimes, will have the subject, or hero, or whatever he is to be called, of the *Elegy* to be Gray himself. That they had something in common—and not a very little something—it would be folly to deny. . . . But there is a great deal in the *Elegy* man that was not in Gray, and there was a great deal more in Gray that is not in the *Elegy* man."

¹³ Cf. Tovey, op. cit., Pref. to Vol. 1, and Introd. Essay to Gray and His Friends.

¹⁴ On this point see especially Tovey, Gray and His Friends, Introd. Essay, p. 26 ff.; also Letters of Thomas Gray, I, Preface, vII ff.; Northup, op. cit., Introd., p. xxii ff. Saintsbury says (op. cit., p. 237) of Arnold's famous "He never spoke out": "He wrote extremely little; he had a most unfortunate habit of leaving what he did write unfinished; and he was undoubtedly influenced, in the character of his work, by a singular conflict of traditions, tastes, and the like. . . . But, as careful and impartial readers of his letters know, he often 'speaks out' in them quite loud and clear. It would be rather interesting to be certain to what extent Mr. Arnold knew them."

¹⁵ The eighty-nine new letters of Toynbee's edition would add much to the actual bulk and real value of Tovey's three thick volumes.

of Gray to Walpole. To the other members of the Quadruple Alliance, Ashton and West, Walpole wrote three and twenty-one letters respectively. But West died in 1742 and the friendship between Ashton and Walpole was broken off about 1750. If one were to judge, then, of the warmth of his friendship for Gray by the number and character of the letters he wrote him, one would be forced to the conclusion that Walpole's interest in the poet was a matter of very secondary importance in his life. And this conclusion receives indirectly added confirmation from a consideration of the hundreds of letters written by Walpole to such really close friends as Sir Horace Mann and Hon. H. S. Conway, most of which fall in the years before Gray's death.¹⁶

A note written by Walpole, however, on the importance of Gray's letters, "four or five years after Gray's death, on a slip of paper preserved with the originals," might justify the inference that he destroyed and mutilated many of his own and possibly of Gray's youthful epistles: "These first letters from Mr. Gray to Mr. Walpole were written when they were both lads just removed from school to the University, where they and Mr. Ashton had assumed feigned names, and assigned others to their particular acquaintances, that they might correspond with greater freedom. puerility, excusable at the ages of eighteen and of seventeen, would have been ridiculous at a riper age, and they soon laid it aside. Consequently when Mr. Walpole entrusted these letters to Mr. Mason that he might select such as were proper for publication, all those childish distinctions were struck out, and Mr. Mason made a very judicious selection for the Press. Mr. W. notwithstanding was so partial to those early blossoms of his friend's wit, genius and humour that he could not determine to destroy them-yet as they are too trifling for the public eye, he begs his executor to burn them after reading, or at least after having transcribed such as would be no reflection on the taste and good sense of the writer. H. W." 17

The letters of these new volumes, as well as those formerly published, make it clear that Gray and Walpole stand a full head and

¹⁶ Five of the eleven letters of Walpole to Gray are printed for the first time by Toynbee. And how many Walpole destroyed of those that came back into his possession, we do not know.

³⁷ Cf. Toynbee, *Introd.*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii, where a facsimile of the original note is given.

shoulders above Ashton and West as writers of entertaining letters. And Gray's best letters are considerably better than Walpole's best; but Gray could occasionally be very dry and tedious. Walpole was of course a consummate gossip in his letters, but his gossip is often spicy, witty, pleasing and entertaining. And then he knew and wrote about almost every interesting body and thing that lived, moved, and happened during the years of his long life. He could be a close and careful observer. He enjoyed and appreciated both nature and art. In his journey through France and Italy with Gray he also saw—was impressed by—the fine bits of scenery they passed, and commented on them with almost as much enthusiasm as Gray. Walpole in fact, as well as Gray, shows in some of his letters from this first Italian journey a genuine appreciation of grand mountain scenes.¹⁸

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A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight, by George Lyman Kittredge. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1916. Pp. viii, 323.

The origin and pedigree of this fine old romance seem to be one of the most difficult problems in literary history, but Professor Kittredge's solution will commend itself to the majority of readers as the best yet offered. The study begins, as he says, "with The Champion's Bargain, an Irish tale in a carefully elaborated literary form, preserved in a manuscript of about the year 1100. We end with Gawain and the Green Knight, an English romance in a carefully elaborated literary form, preserved in a manuscript of about 1400. Those points in which the latter document differs from the former are changes—additions, subtractions, or modifications. The questions are, with regard to each of them: Who made the change—the Englishman or one of his predecessors? and, if one of his predecessors, which one?"

¹⁸ Cf. especially a letter to West, dated Aix, Sept. 30, 1739. Letters of Horace Walpole, ed. Cunningham, I, 27; cf. pp. 28 ff.; also Gray's letters to his mother, dated Lyons, Oct. 13, 1739, and to West, Turin, Nov. 16, 1739 in Tovey, I, 38 f. and 43 f. for his descriptions of same incidents.

These questions Professor Kittredge has answered as clearly and fully as may be done. And what renders his results the more valuable and trustworthy is his clear recognition of the fact that details of folk-lore and romance are not fixed and invariable, but that on the contrary they show a constant tendency to drift away from their primary surroundings, "to slide into fresh combinations." He does well to emphasize the fact that the creative instinct of individual genius must be reckoned with in a study like this.

Apart from the pedigree of Gawain and the Green Knight itself, certain related topics which are of great interest to students of folklore have been dealt with at length. One of the most notable, one about which many curious stories have gathered, is The Decapitation. The same ideas persist from generation to generation. We are told, for instance, that the head of Charles I opened its eyes and looked reproachfully at the executioner. Eighteen centuries earlier the poet Ennius could say of one suddenly beheaded in battle (328 B):

oscitat in campis caput a ceruice reuolsum semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt.

Indeed Ennius seems to have been specially impressed by such phenomena. Witness the trumpeter of 327 B who lost his head so suddenly that the trumpet finished the tune before realizing what had happened:

cumque caput caderet, carmen tuba sola peregit et pereunte uiro raucus sonus aere cucurrit.

All which is more suggestive of Baron Munchausen than of epic. Nevertheless this curious conceit has a long literary tradition. Great poets have not hesitated to echo it with all seriousness.

Professor Kittredge's book has evidently been a labor of love. He has worked with his usual thoroughness and breadth of vision. His results are a welcome and permanent addition to our knowledge of an unusually interesting theme.

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English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653. A study of Matrimony and Family Life in Theory and Practice as revealed by the Literature, Law, and History of the period. By CHILTON LATHAM POWELL. New York, Columbia University Press, 1917.

Dr. Powell has shown in this work that it is possible for the student of English to produce a doctoral dissertation which is interesting to the man of letters and at the same time profitable to members of other professions. Altho, as he says in his preface, he cannot lay claim to actual priority of inquiry in the field under consideration, he is the first who has trained the searchlight of investigation upon "all possible sources of information—history, law, literature, and actual practice," with the result that his book is valuable to the lawyer as well as stimulating to the scholar.

Whereas matrimony as a legal subject has been pretty thoroly investigated by jurists, Dr. Powell has been able to discover many works hitherto entirely overlooked in this connection, and has corrected a good many errors in conclusions of varying importance. His explanation of the origin of the New England statute concerning civil marriage will be of considerable interest for the student of American institutions and laws. This statute he shows to have been merely the New-World application of Old-World Independent beliefs; for Plymouth was settled by followers of one of the most prominent disciples of that sect, and one of the most distinctive planks in its religious platform was the severance of the marriage ceremony from all church control. The persistence of this law down to the present time, as also the rulings of Marylandwhose early proprietors were Roman Catholic-that some religious ceremony was necessary for any legal marriage and the continuance of those rulings to the present, may furnish the psychologist with interesting data as to the permanence of emotional content in intellectual consciousness.

A review of this book should not leave unmentioned the survey of the famous Henry VIII divorce controversy which is contained in Appendix A. Here Dr. Powell has gathered the first complete English bibliography of the proceedings and controversy, and has shown its ramifications to have reached out into almost every country of Europe. When we consider that in one book alone (Censurae) "seven continental universities" return their decisions,

interesting material offers itself for some future candidate for the doctoral degree.

Dr. Powell's most important contribution, however, is the literary significance with which he invests his thesis. A year or two from now many scholars may concern themselves with Domestic Relations as the expression of the thought of an age; for the present Dr. Powell is the first to assign the subject a distinct position in the domain of letters. By means of an extensive biblioography, much of it previously unmentioned, he uncovers an amazing amount of textual material on marriage and divorce. That such a body of literature exists in the legal-sounding domain of Domestic Relations, comes as a surprise to us who are accustomed to regard the topic as either a part of the curriculum of first-year law compiled from exhibits in calf-bound tomes of unwieldly size, or as the practice of hushed court rooms. We are accordingly startled to find that the pen of almost every thoughtful Englishman during the period under examination was occupied with questions concerning marriage or divorce.

Such a discovery would be of little real value were not the influence of this writing discernible in other English literature; for, as in natural and other sciences, the isolation of any element is only sought as a means to its further identification in active combination with other elements, so the recognition of any literary factor is of no à priori interest apart from its expression in other thought. Examined thus, the interpolation into the Domestic Conduct Book of chapters on marriage and married life is easily understandable; and traces of this discussion are to be found in the Morality, the Interlude, and even the popular Jest Book, with its play upon the very situations over which those old pamphleteers raised such hue and cry.

Dr. Powell might have gone still farther and enveloped his discussion with a yet more living interest. Let us consider such works as the anonymous A Curtain Lecture and Braithwait's Ar't asleepe husbande? as forerunners of the famous Mrs. Caudle Lectures, and we shall see those fifteenth and sixteenth century ideas progressing, the ever so secretly, thru the ages, for in Douglas Jerrold's witty pages we meet old coin remoulded circulating as currency of a full two centuries later. Nor does the mint become ever wholly debased. Within the last decade the dead and gone

discussion has revived with increased vigor and become modern and quite up to twentieth-century date. In the light of this dissertation, especially the chapter "Contemporary Attitudes Towards Woman," such novels as Angela's Business, Marriage À La Mode, Perch of The Devil, Mr. Galsworthy's penetrating social studies, and innumerable other expressions of the feminist movement, emerge as the slow but sure development of old Puritan reform.

Perhaps one of the most interesting uses which Dr. Powell makes of his study is its application as a test of Milton's reasons for writing his Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce. It is a sad commentary on human nature that he who has attained the greatest heights of mental and moral grandeur is most eagerly assailed by the majority of mankind if he exhibit ever his vulnerable heel; and Milton's own nephew raised such yelping at the great poet's According to Philips, Milton composed his Doctrine and Discipline in a disgruntled frame of mind produced by his young wife's prolonged absence from home. From this original statement, suppositions have arisen of so varying a wildness that some are unfit for publication. The whole of this ingenious fabrication Dr. Powell believes to have been built on no particle of truth. By proving Mr. Philips inaccurate in other matters, even in those of such extreme family intimacy as the dates of the poet's birth, entrance in Cambridge, publication of Paradise Lost, and death, he very sensibly suggests that he be not too readily credited in this particular. He further shows that the order of composition for the Doctrine, the Tetrachordon, and the Judgement of Martin Bucer was far different from that assigned by Philips, and establishes a date for the planning of the Doctrine that is almost a year in advance of the one given by Milton's nephew. Add to this the poet's own statement in his Second Defense: "When the bishops could no longer resist the multitude of their assailants, I had leisure to turn my thoughts to other subjects; to the promotion of real and substantial liberty. . . . When, therefore, I perceived that there were three species of liberty which are essential to the happiness of social life; religious, domestic, and civil; and as I had already written concerning the first, and the magistrates were strenuously active concerning the third, I determined to turn my attention to the second, or domestic species." These facts. taken into consideration with Dr. Powell's complete argument,

which shows the age of Milton and the immediately preceding age to have been rife with discussions of marriage and divorce, sufficiently make clear why the poet should have turned his thoughts in that direction. Dr. Powell's contentions on the whole are well sustained and convincing; and we must hope that future commentators will refrain from their mud-slinging and indecent suppositions as to Milton's marital relations. In style, the book is lucid and attractive; a surprising amount of heavy and technical matter is handled with a degree of ease that admits of no suggestion of the pedant.

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A Middle High German Primer, with Grammar, Notes, and Glossary by Joseph Wright. Third Edition. Rewritten and Enlarged. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1917. vi + 213 pp.

The first edition of this primer appeared in 1888, the second ten years later. The edition just publisht represents a work of twice the size and scope of the former editions. As stated in the preface, "the grammatical introduction has been entirely rewritten and expanded to more than twice its original size. The texts have also been nearly doubled by the addition of eighteen poems from Walther von der Vogelweide and selections from Reinmar, Ulrich von Lichtenstein and Wolfram von Eschenbach."

The new edition is the only MHG. reader in English which lays the proper emphasis on linguistics. The MHG. dialects covered by the text ar almost exclusively Upper German, a restriction which can scarcely be condemned in a beginners' text. On the whole, the revision puts this text on a par with Wright's other works on the Germanic dialects, and wil undoubtedly giv it a wide circulation in this country as long as the importation of books from Germany is impossible. As is to be expected of a book written by an Englishman for English schools, there ar some faults from the standpoint of American requirements. Teachers in this country who use MHG. as an exercise in translation into the modern German idiom will be disappointed in the vocabulary, which contains not a single NHG. word. It is doubly disappointing that in chapters on fonology a comparison with NHG. is almost entirely disregarded.

Purporting to be comparative in, its scope, constantly giving parallel OHG. forms, with which the student may be unfamiliar, it yet leaves out of consideration the NHG. which the student does know, and the historical development of which he should lern thru just such a study.

Except for a reference in the preface to the standard works of Paul and Michels, the author refers only to his own *Historical German Grammar* and to his *Old High German Primer*, a rather unscholarly procedure, less reprehensible in a primer, however, than in his *Grammar of the Gothic Language* or his *Historical German Grammar*, where this criticism more aptly applies.

For the most part the material of the primer is arranged in a clear and succinct form. But now and then Wright forgets that his readers ar beginners in linguistics. Is not an unexplained statement like that in § 80, "To this class belong the three aorist presents: lūchen, sūfan, sūgan" really Greek to a beginner?

In a number of other points the author's statements lack clearness and accuracy. For instance, objection might be made to his way of giving the hypothetical forms: p. 5 "OHG. horen older *hausjan." *Hausjan can be Gothic but is neither pre-OHG., WGerm. nor Germ. He shows a similar looseness in the use of the terms primitiv Germanic, Germanic, West Germanic, etc. The first two he seems to use interchangeably; cf. § 19 and § 29. It is strange he does not use simply Germanic and above all save space and type by abbreviating it. The section on consonant changes could easily be improved on from the standpoint of clearness. In this the author suddenly shifts from the designation prim. Germanic (cf. his discussion of the vowels) to West Germanic as the source from which he traces the consonant changes. Why he does this is not clear, for it leads him to such enigmatical statements as: § 25 "The voiced explosives b, d, g, and the voiced spirants b, 3 did not undergo the same universal shifting as the voiceless explosives. t, 3 became b, g." Nowhere is there an explanation of the difference between WGerm. b and b, g and g. To take the WGerm. as a source of the sound shifts not only complicates matters because the other WGerm. dialects show a different development in most cases from the OHG., but is inconsistent and confusing to a beginner. It would hav been much simpler had he shown the development in OHG. of the Germ. b, d, in initial, medial and final positions.

In § 28 he says: "The following sound changes took place in primitive Germanic: every labial +t became ft; every guttural +t became ht; every dental +t became ss, which was simplified to s after long vowels." This is inaccurate. It was not a prim. Germ. but a pre-Germ. change. For example, IE. p + t and b + tfel together into pre-Germ. pt, which became Germ. ft probably at the same time that IE. p became f; so we hav OHG. nift from an IE. base *nept- and OHG. gascaft from IE. *skabt-. So also, IE. k + t and g + t became pre-Germ. kt, Germ. ht: OHG. naht, IE. *nokt- and OHG. suht, IE. *sugt-. But IE. bh + t became bdh, and this, Germ. bd. Cf. OS. libda. In like manner IE. gh + tbecame gdh, Germ. gd, cf. OS. hogda. (Collitz, Das schwache Präteritum, pp. 105 ff.) The change of the dental +t, which likewise takes place in pre-Germ. time, is found also in Italic and Celtic. The ss was simplified to s after a long syllable, not merely after a long vowel, as Wright has it. Cf. OHG. funs.

In § 3 on the pronunciation of vowels, English air as the equivalent of MHG. α , and English pot to represent the close MHG. o could certainly be improved on. In the explanation of the Germ. long vowels no mention is made of the double origin of OHG. MHG. \bar{a} : e. g. $d\bar{a}hte$, $sl\bar{a}fen$, or of \bar{u} : e. g. $h\bar{u}s$, $d\bar{u}hte$, § 5, 2; § 11, 2. Nothing is said about the labio-velars, tho they ar used in a number of older forms § 19, § 36, etc. In § 29 the loss of n in MHG. honec beside OHG. honang; $k\bar{u}nec$ beside kuning, etc., is best explained as dissimilation.

In § 31, 3, the second paragraf, an explanation of why the second and third persons singular wer not geminated like the first person should hav been made.

Wright's claim (§ 44) that the division of nouns into classes according to stems as in OHG. is out of place in a MHG. grammar may be true from a purely MHG. or NHG. point of view. But if he is consistent in his comparativ work, he would classify them in the usual way. His classification is not much easier, and how about the student who continues his work in the other dialects? The statement (§ 68, Note) that MHG. daz was weakened to dez and then to z, which was then attacht to a preceding word, is misleading. Such contracted forms wer certainly not regarded independently and tackt on to expressions, but wer contractions in the frase just as in NHG. or any language, for that matter. Vliehen (§ 78) belongs with such verbs as vliezen, giezen and not with those showing

grammatical change. $St\bar{a}n$, $st\bar{e}n$ and $g\bar{a}n$, $g\bar{e}n$ ar clast without a word of explanation with the sixth and seventh ablaut series respectivly. The student must necessarily judge the infinitiv forms to be those of strong verbs which, of course, they ar not. The fact that they ar later (\S 95, \S 96) conjugated under the anomalous verbs does not clear up the matter, as no explanation is given here either.

The edition has few typografical errors or omissions. I hav noted only the following: § 7 read: blintaz for blindaz; § 16 Note, next to last line, read: MHG. iu for ie; § 26 for OHG. cc read: cch or ck; § 90 at end, add: zucken, zücken; § 93 under sol add at end: subj. solte and sölte; also read: mähte for mehte two lines below. In § 97 at end add: imper. wis, bis; wesen, sin; weset, sīt.

The chapter on syntax (three and one-half pages) and the notes (about two pages to 90 pages of text) ar, needless to say, inadequate. In the syntax Wright follows Paul's chapter on syntax very closely, picking out rule and example here and there, but leaving out numerous rules just as important as those he givs.

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NOTE ON DANTE, Inferno VIII, 7

In the Inferno VIII, 7 Dante terms his illustrious guide, 'the sea of all wisdom'—

Ed io mi volsi al mar di tutto il senno: Dissi: etc.

The metaphor is striking but so far as English is concerned it is odd enough to deserve comment. For example, the rendition of it in some of our standard translations of the *Inferno* is in itself a proof that in the same circumstances and to produce the same effect no English poet of high rank would employ it unless he had some special reason. Of course it does not follow that the same is true of Italian. On the contrary, it may be presumed that the metaphor is more or less familiar in modern Italian. I observe

for example that un mar di sapienza is one of the figurative phrases quoted in Petròcchi's standard dictionary, s. v. mare. Of course the final settlement of this point must be left to those whose knowledge of the language and literature of Italy entitles them to speak with authority. But even though they should tell me that the metaphor was quite common I should still have a right to ask whether there were not a reason for it. And in default of any definite proof to the contrary I should venture upon the following tentative answer:

Every cultivated language is rich with phrases and turns, many of them in common use, which in each case go back to some one definite authority. For example, let us take such a familiar phrase as "a sea of troubles." So far as English is concerned the very existence of it is due to Shakespeare's famous line,

Or to take arms against a sea of troubles And by opposing end them.

So in Italian, however common such an expression as un mar di sapienza may be, are we not fairly safe in assuming that it owes its existence ultimately to the very phrase which we are discussing? That this is actually the case is rendered all the more likely by the fact that Dante holds the same commanding position in the history of Italian that Shakespeare does in the history of English.

It seems more than probable then that Dante himself was the first Italian to speak of any one as a mar di senno. If so, it would be permissible to conclude that he had some special reason for it. And that this actually was the case is suggested by at least two items of evidence.

The first is negative. In Italian—which in figurative usage generally retains to a remarkable extent the old Latin feeling—the idiomatic traditional metaphor for the idea which Dante wished to express seems to have been, so far as I can discover, either a treasure house or a well-spring, an inexhaustible fount. Dante rejected them both and chose the sea. Why?

The second item is positive. So far as it goes it attempts to

¹ The phrase is Shakespearian, not the metaphor. The metaphor is as old as Aeschylus. See also Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde, II, 1-5. (Skeat's edition). I hope to take up the classical and humanistic tradition of this metaphor in a future note.

tell us why. It is a well known fact that Dante was thoroughly familiar with that strange phenomenon, the medieval tradition of Vergil. Indeed, as was quite natural, he was even to a certain extent dominated by it. In this very passage for example nothing could be more characteristic of that tradition nor a more faithful reflection of it than the extraordinary and exclusive emphasis not on Vergil's genius as a poet and as a creative artist—his real claims to greatness—but on Vergil's attainments as a scholar and

philosopher.

On general principles, therefore, we might at least assume as a working hypothesis that the poet's choice of the metaphor under discussion was also suggested by his familiarity with that same tradition. At all events we may observe that Dante was fond of etymologizing. It was characteristic of his age, it was notably characteristic of that very tradition which, as we have just seen, is faithfully reflected in this passage. The medieval exponents of that tradition were notably fond of etymologizing on Vergil's name. In that way they managed to extract not only proofs of his surpassing ability but even the main facts, real or supposed, of his career and personality. I quote one of these which seems to be germane to our discussion. It is an explanation of the origin and true meaning of Vergil's cognomen, Maro.

"Maro," we are informed, "dictus est a mare. Sicut enim mare abundat aqua, ita et ipsi affluebat sapientia plus ceteris poetis." This occurs in a life of the poet in the Codex Gudianus, a Vergilian manuscript of the ninth century (see Heyne-Wagner's Vergil, note on the Donatus Life, 22, and Comparetti's Virgilio nel

Medio Evo, 1, p. 195).

Without doubt this precious item of information along with many others of a similar sort was current in the thirteenth century schools, and Dante was of all men the most likely to be familiar with it.

Maro dictus est a mare. Sicut enim mare abundat aqua, ita et ipsi affluebat sapientia plus ceteris poetis.

Ed io mi volsi al mar di tutto il senno: Dissi: etc.

Is the resemblance merely a matter of chance, or is the long-forgotten lucubration of some unknown medieval sciolist ultimately responsible for a striking phrase in one of the greatest poets of the world? In a matter like this I am not in a position to speak with authority. Therefore, to quote the words of the freedman, Niceros, at the conclusion of his famous werewolf story in Petronius, Viderint alii quid de hoc exopinissent.

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ELIZABETHAN PLAGIARISM (?): A BIT OF UNAPPROPRIATED VERSE

On page 86 of the recent reprint of the Elizabethan Club copy of the old play, Common Conditions, I mention in particular three rather extended manuscript insertions made by an Elizabethan reader. The second and third are rough variants of lines found in the printed text. The first, however, has no such source. As I read it, it runs thus:—

"My hand here houering stands, to writ some prety verse to thee my morning mynd for to delight that wants the Joyes that be

for vs-"

In turning over the pages of Nicholas Breton I have come upon nearly the same words in a fragment of verse which the poet entitles *The Toyes of an Idle Head* and prefaces with an interesting explanation (Breton's Works, ed. Grosart, vol. 1: A Flourish vpon

Fancie, etc., p. 35) :-

"One sitting in dolefull dumpes by himselfe alone, thinking to have written some dolorous discourse, was let by occasion: and, so, for want of time, wrote but onely sixe lynes, and left them vnfinished: the verses were these. (I like them, and therefore thought good to place them among other imperfections):

My hand here houering stands,
to write some prety toye,
My mourning mind for to delight,
yt wants all worldly ioye:
And Fancy offereth eke,
fyne toyes for to indite vpon,
To comfort thus my heavy heart,
that is thus woe begon.
But all in vaine: for why?
my minde is so opprest with greefe,
As all the pleasures in this world
can lend me no releefe.

Finis imperfecta."

It will be observed that Breton does not claim the words as his own and that he suggests that the author, 'let by occasion' before he could complete his poem, was the victim of a chance similar to that which Coleridge suffered when the never-enough-to-be-execrated visitor from Porlock interrupted him in the midst of Kubla Khan. However this may be, it seems likely that the scribbler in Common Conditions got the words from Breton's book, published in 1582, that is some six years after the apparent date of publication of the Elizabethan Club quarto.

To my colleague, Professor Canby, I owe the ingenious suggestion that the two sets of amorous scrawls, of which the passage just referred to is a part, indicate that our copy of Common Conditions was employed as a go-between by a pair of Elizabethan lovers. If this be so, a date for the romance may perhaps be found in the

early years of the '80's, when Common Conditions was still a fashionable play and the lines quoted by Breton were fresh in readers' memories.

TUCKER BROOKE.

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Gulliver's Travels and Thomas Brown

In Modern Language Notes of February, 1917, Professor Thompson suggests that the satire at the expense of the scientists and philosophers in the Third Book of Gulliver's Travels may have been suggested by passages in Thomas Brown's Amusements Serious and Comical. I believe it is possible that another book by Brown gave Swift certain hints for the Fourth Voyage of Gulliver. This book is The Circe of Signior Giovanni Battista Gelli of the Academy of Florence. Consisting of Ten Dialogues between Ulysses and several Men transform'd into Beasts: Satyrically representing the various Passions of Mankind and the many Infellicities of human Life. Done out of Italian by Mr. Tho. Brown, London, 1702.

The Circe of Gelli, first published in 1549, met with great success and went through so many editions that sixteenth century reprints can today be procured easily and cheaply. I purchased at Florence a few years ago a copy printed at Venice, 1550, for three liri. It was soon brought to England where it appeared as Circes of J. B. Gello, Florentyne. Translated out of Italyon into Englyshe by H. Iden. J. Cawoode, London, 1557. Brown, in his preface, says there is need of a new translation and hopes "that Old Standard Wit will be very acceptable in a Modern Dress."

There are many passages in Brown's version that resemble in a general way certain passages in Swift's satire; for example, the attack on physicians (pp. 44-48) and on luxurious living and drunkenness (pp. 37-39. Cf. A Voyage to the Houghnhams, Chapter VI). But the most striking resemblance is Gelli's Seventh Dialogue, between Ulysses and the Horse. Here we have many of the ideas found in the Voyage to the Houyhnhnms. Thus the horse is physically superior to man and far above him morally because freed from human passions and vices. Temperance is the virtue of the horse, not of man. A paragraph will show how close is the resemblance between the Italian and the English satirist: Horse. "But if I should turn the Tables upon you, it wou'd make your Hair stand on end, perhaps, to think what wicked and abominable Actions you men have been guilty of. Consult your own histories a little, and you will find how much Hatred and Animosity, how many Fewds and Quarrels, how many Treasons and Murders, as well by Sword as by Poyson, which is a most execrable

Barbarity, have ow'd their original to this disorderly Passion (jealousy). I will therefore drop so odious a Subject, and pass to the Pleasures of Eating and Drinking. Now pitch upon what Beasts you please, either wild or tame, and you must own that in this respect we are more moderate than you. I defie you to show me one that at any time either eats or drinks more than Nature requires, or that seeks after any other aliment, than what she ordained, Seed, or Grass, or Flesh, or Fruit: whereas you are so far from being satisfied with one Nourishment, that you eat everything almost, search every corner in the Universe, and ransack the four elements to supply your Luxury. Nay, not content with this, you employ learned Masters in the Mystery of Eating, who try a thousand expensive Tricks to give a greater haut goust to your Food, than Nature thought fit to give them. This betrays you into frequent excesses, by which means you destroy the vigour of your Constitution, and either shorten your Days, or entail a sickly vexatious old Age upon your selves. . . . Therefore I leave you to judge, whether we are not much more temperate than you, and whether our Destiny is not far happier than yours, who have the greater share of that Virtue, which takes off the Impediments that hinder us from acting according to Nature."

Hönncher, Anglia x, 397-427, and Borkowsky, Anglia xv, 345-389, have discussed at length the sources for Gulliver's Travels. To their list of books must be added Brown's translation of Circe. Certainly the part this book played is inconsiderable when compared with Cyrano de Bergerac's Voyages Comiques, yet it is interesting to notice that Italy as well as France contributed to the

making of Swift's satire.

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Barlaam and Joasaph

The John G. White Collection of Folk-lore, Oriental and Mediæval Literature, owned by the Cleveland Public Library, has just received an interesting Italian version of Barlaam and Joasaph, information about which is solicited from the readers of Modern

Language Notes.

The fundamental study of this romance was made by E. Kuhn (Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. Classe der K. bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Bd. xx, Abt. 1, 1893). According to Kuhn (p. 61), the Italian texts fall roughly into two classes: a fuller form, whose title begins "Storia," and a briefer, called "Vita." Of the editions of the "Vita" known to Kuhn, the oldest, except for an undated 15th century text in the Trivulzian library, was published by Bindoni at Venice in 1539. The White copy, a "Vita" text,

was issued from the same press, but in 1524. Now the first printed edition of the "Storia" form did not appear till 1734 (there is a copy in the White collection). The Cleveland copy, therefore, appears to be earlier than any other dated Italian edition. (It may be added that Harvard and the Library of Congress possess no Italian edition earlier than the 18th century).

Furthermore, Kuhn says that, though the Mss. of the "Vita" call King Barachias "Alfanos," this name is found in none of the few editions to which he had access. It is used, however, in the

White copy.

Into the details of the text there has been no leisure to go; but on the surface the White copy appears to be the oldest dated Italian edition on record, and to be unknown to bibliographers. Perhaps some reader of *Modern Language Notes* will be able to throw further light upon it.

GORDON W. THAYER.

Cleveland Public Library.

BRIEF MENTION

Is there a Poetic View of the World? By C. H. Herford. The British Academy: Warton Lecture on English Poetry, VII. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. VII (Oxford University Press, 1917). No one could expect Professor Herford to ask an idle question; and when he may offer an answer to any question, he commands serious attention. Nor is Professor Herford the man to be misunderstood when he puts himself into relation with hackneved expressions, commonplace questioning, and the makeshifts of minds easily quieted by well-sounding generalizations. His is the type of mind that with philosophic eagerness and sincerity takes hold of old problems as formulas of universal processes of thought, or as expressions of universal experience and, therefore, of certain unalterable values. The chief propensity of another type of mind is to magnify the supervenient variations in the aspect of old problems. A mind of this type tends to disregard history and to over-estimate the effects of new conditions on perdurable principles. It is thus that adventitious 'schools' in the arts emerge from time to time. With ephemera of this sort Professor Herford has nothing to do; he is concerned with what in intellectual and emotional life is true to-day because it was true yesterday and will be true to-That a summary of this lecture (better named an essay or a treatise) must be helpful is the judgment of Professor Herford himself; he has, accordingly, supplied one, which shall be quoted in full, so that whatever comments may here be offered will be easily kept in proper relation to the whole argument.

"View of the World, or 'World-view,' defined. Distinction of religious and philosophical World-views. The present essay attempts to define and describe a poetic World-view.—I. Character of poetic experience. Types of belief about Man and Nature to which it predisposes. Though rarely detached from religious or philosophical presumptions, it habitually modifies them, and the method here proposed is to study, in some salient examples, the character and direction of these modifications (p. 2).—II. (i) Modifications of religious World-views by the poetic inspirations of Personality and Love. Homer. Aeschylus. Dante (p. 6).—III. (ii) Modifications of philosophical World-views: (a) Materialistic schools. Epicureanism and Lucretius (p. 14).—IV. (b) 'Objective idealisms.' Stoic pantheism and Vergil. Wordsworth. Shelley. Philosophic doctrine of 'Nature' in Wordsworth, and in Goethe. Spinoza and Goethe (p. 21).—V. (c) 'Subjective idealisms.' 'Mind' in the philosophers and in the poets of the age of Wordsworth. The poets subordinate (1) the rational to the emotional and imaginative factors of soul: Wordsworth, Blake, Shelley, and (2) moral categories to a good 'beyond good and evil.' Of this poetic ethic the most vital constituent is Love; and Love, comprehensively understood, will be an intrinsic element of every World-view won through poetic experience (p. 27)."

In connection with the study of this essay, the reader will find no disadvantage in refreshing his knowledge of Mr. Balfour's discussion of the æsthetic world-outlook (see Theism and Humanism, 1915). The contemplative mind, it is argued, finds æsthetic content (tho, according to mood and temperament, the 'esthetic contemplation' may be of relatively low intensity) in science, history, and philosophy as well as in nature and works of art. This typical expression may be cited: "However people may differ about the benefits to be derived from æsthetic, all are agreed that the benefits are great." Mr. Balfour has no specifically professional relation to the subject; but he has, in high degree, the cultivated and logical mind and the power and felicity of expression that give to his various discourses, introductory and stimulating, acknowledged charm and value. On the contrary, Professor Herford is held to professional accountability; his essay will not be expected to be a parergon, a by-concernment of one primarily engaged in other

provinces of thought.

The question asked in the title of this essay is so universally answered affirmatively that, it will be agreed, the more exact form of the title, warranted by the argument of the essay, would be 'What is the Poetic View of the World?' Clearly the universal assent is given not to Scaliger's pedagogic formula, poetam creare instituimus, but to the creed poeta nascitur, which is of the same category as is the recognition of superior endowments for other arts, or for scientific research, or for philosophic speculation, etc.

Poetry is a supreme art, and in an inclusive sense "art is a species of thought, having its own dialectic, arriving by its own processes at its own conclusions, and through the language of its own forms made capable of communication" (Geoffrey Scott, The Architecture of Humanism, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914, p. 248). To question, therefore, the possibility of a poetic view of life is to question the existence of the art of poetry; but it will never cease to be of highest importance to clarify and deepen one's sympathetic understanding of the poet's artistic and philosophic methods and purpose. At this point Professor Herford now offers valuable assistance.

He acknowledges his debt to W. Dilthey (Das Wesen der Philosophie) for the distinction of a religious, philosophic, and poetic world-view; and defines a Weltanschauung, "in its full scope," to be a dominating set of "ideas about life of quite distinct categories." The two well distinguished types, the religious and the philosophic, are, however, not "mutually exclusive in substance and content" (p. 2); as for the third type, the poetic, it is here proposed "to examine whether any typical character or direction can be discovered in the modifications which the data of religious or philosophic beliefs and ideals have undergone in certain commanding poet-natures" (p. 6). A partial view may be given of these

two departments of the argument.

Professor Herford would first consider poetry produced under conditions of a "religion still untouched by philosophic reflection," and ventures "to assert that the Homeric epics owe their present form neither to purely religious awe nor merely to conscious and deliberate artistry, but to a poetic apprehension of the world operating upon the data of the savage cults and rituals, animism, totemism and magic" discoverable by gradual decipherment. To borrow a figure from the allied arts, by contrapposto he twists 'Homer' on his own axis, and finds his highest significance in a conversion of the best elements of an imperfect religion into a national bible, which "raised the status of man and the ideals of human achievement." Surely the terms of this reasoning are too simple. The religion of the Greeks, by which man was "made at home in the world" (G. Lowes Dickinson, The Greek View of Life, 1916), was not in 'Homer' devoid of definite philosophic elements.

Coming to Dante, one enters a complex world with bold outlines drawn by an authoritatively established system of dogmas, a religious world-view to which the poet conformed, but with a poetic difference. There was also a philosophic world-view, rich in its elements of human appeal, and these are wrought into the poet's pattern of man's life and destiny. Dante speaks the language not of the theological dogmatist but "the language of the soul." He puts into words his soul-vision: 'I simply write down what Love within dictates' (p. 10). Purgatory becomes "a temporal colony

of heaven," where "love transforms punishment into glad piety" (J. B. Fletcher, *Dante*, Holt & Co., 1916). Dante aimed to find "the way of spiritual self-help with the aid of philosophy and theology." All the philosophically distinguished types of love are united in an all-governing principle: he is "the greatest of the

poets of Love."

Professor Herford's chapter on Lucretius is excellent. Here is an example of a poet interpreting a philosophic theory that is purely materialistic and on its face unpromising for poetic treatment. Epicurus had converted Democritus's theory into a "secular monasticism, secure from fear," with its ears stopped toward poetry, and trampling religion under its foot. Altho Lucretius has "passages enough in his poem where poetic substance and decorative surface seem equally wanting, . . . we can discern under much scholastic obstruction and irrelevance the outlines of a colossal epic of the universe, of which the protagonist is Man, and wanting neither in the heroic exultations nor in the tragic dooms, neither in the melancholy over what passes nor in the triumph over what endures, which go to the making of the greatest epic." Lucretius conquered "a new way in poetry." Of particular significance is his introduction of Venus, the great symbol which "rendered his vehement apprehension of the life of Nature with more veracity than that calculus of atomic movements which he was about to expound." So too the poet's feeling for the Earth as the mother of men is a noteworthy feature of the poem, by which the joys and sorrows of life are deepened. The supreme achievement is the poetic apprehension of a world-view not dreamed of by Democritus and Epicurus.

Professor Herford's conciseness of expression, which allures one into direct quotation, has enabled him to bring within the compass of thirty-one pages the results of minute and prolonged study of various aspects of his subject.

J. W. B.

[&]quot;The man of letters whom I should like to place in the front line of my generation in serious drift, influence, importance, and social insight was Matthew Arnold." This estimate of Lord Morley's must be taken into account by anyone who feels inclined to be swayed by the current disparagement of Victorianism in general and of Arnold in particular. The type of mind that ridicules, patronizes, or ignores the last generation can never be sensitive to the worth of Arnold; nor can the critic who is belletristic and nothing else comprehend him. Fortunately Professor Stuart P. Sherman belongs to neither class; lacking these deficiencies and possessing to a notable degree the poise, the disinterested objectivity, the sense for large issues that his subject demands, he has pro-

duced incomparably the best book on a theme fruitful with ideas that this age needs to ponder (Matthew Arnold: How to Know Him, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1917). "Timeliness" is not necessarily a word of commendation, for the opportune is frequently the ephemeral, but in this case it is the decisive merit of a work excellent alike for substance and style. With no trace of over-emphasis and by suggestions rather than overt statement Mr. Sherman brings the reader to realize that in the body of Arnold's ideas there are guidance and sustenance for those who seek them. Mr. Wells has told the world that England erred grievously when she "did not listen to Arnold," charmed he never so wisely. Is she listening now? Will America listen? His words are still of vital importance. In the field of education he has his part with those who, like Professor Shorey, are waging valiant war against the soi-disant science that is assaulting the humanities. In political thought he uphol's the central position that essays to balance particular and collective tendencies and that without relaxing the reins of individual moral responsibility seeks to create a firm, broad-visioned, and humane State. For those—and how many there are !- who feel, as did Arnold before he found his peace, that

> We are here as on a darkling plain Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight, Where ignorant armies clash by night,

amid the welter of speculation, the growth of concern in spiritualistic phenomena, the assaults upon orthodoxy, the quest of "invirible kings," Arnold offers counsel and consolation; and no part of Mr. Sherman's book is better worth while than that dealing with the writings on religion, a portion of Arnold's criticism that has generally been discussed with something of the flippancy with which Arnold himself, perhaps unwisely, hid the intense spiritual-mindedness in which it is steeped. But excelling all other claims to a hearing to-day is the note that sounds persistently through Arnold, the reminder that

Man hath all which Nature hath, but more And in that more lie all his hopes of good.

This lesson must be driven home. For even among those who hear the strident arguments of "efficiency" with disgust, the noise of bragging materialism tends to drown out the pleadings of the moral order. But Arnold's voice, the voice of what he represents, is sounding still, serene, but not unimpassioned, summoning the "saving remnant" (whose number must increase with the passage of years, else civilization is indeed lost) upward towards those things that are imperishable and hence divine.—Some such ideas will be suggested to every attentive reader of Mr. Sherman's book.

La conocida casa editorial Calleja, de Madrid, acaba de inaugurar la Segunda Serie de su Biblioteca. Está dividida en tres grupos. Forman el primero, Grupo A, llamado Antologías, las publicaciones de Páginas escogidas de los mejores escritores. Los volúmenes que han aparecido son de autores vivos: Azorín, Antonio Machado, Armando Palacio Valdés. Ellos mismos se han encargado de la selección que va precedida de un Prólogo autobiográfico y autocrítico, y acompañada de ligeros comentarios respecto del libro a que pertenece el trozo escogido. Cuando se trate de páginas de autor fallecido se encargará de tales trabajos un escritor actual de primera fila. Encabeza los volúmenes de este grupo un retrato del autor respectivo. Es realmente interesante conocer la opinión de los autores acerca de sus producciones y atrayente en extremo sorprender ciertos curiosos detalles sobre la gestación de la obra.

Înclúyense en el Grupo B las obras de escritores contemporáneos. Han visto la luz Los Galeotes, de los hermanos Quintero, y La Pata de la Raposa, de R. Pérez de Ayala. Constituyen el Grupo C los Clásicos. Se han publicado El Libro de Buen Amor y La Celestina. Se trata de unas ediciones de popularización, con texto íntegro, depurado de acuerdo con los estudios más recientes, y ortografía actual. Sumarias notas explicativas y un Prólogo crítico de firma autorizada. El Libro de Buen Amor (ed. Adolfo Reyes) trae un

curioso plano del viaje del Arcipreste.

La labór emprendida por la Casa Calleja es merecedora de sinceras alabanzas. Podrá ayudar grandemente a la meritísima difusión de los Clásicos. Todos los esfuerzos en este sentido son dignos de elogio y ayuda. Una garantía de la corrección de las ediciones son las personas encargadas de esta tarea. La presentación pulcra, como no es corriente en España en libros de tal precio. E. B.

English Composition, by C. N. Greenough and F. W. Hersey (The Macmillan Co., 1917), is a carefully-made book, fresh, free from surplusage and formality, and practical. The authors endeavor to minimize rules, particularly negative rules, and to follow in the arrangement of their material the steps of the process of writing. The order of the parts of the book is, therefore, Gathering and Weighing Material, Kinds of Composition, Structure, Diction, Mechanics. Much of the text is in the second person, and one has at times the feeling that it is over-simplified, written down to a freshman level. The use of illustrations in teaching description heightens this impression. Yet the book is not juvenile. It emphasizes, possibly too much, the literary aspects of college writing, and is so rich in allusions to contemporary literature as to be a helpful stimulus toward a mature taste in reading.

J. C. F.